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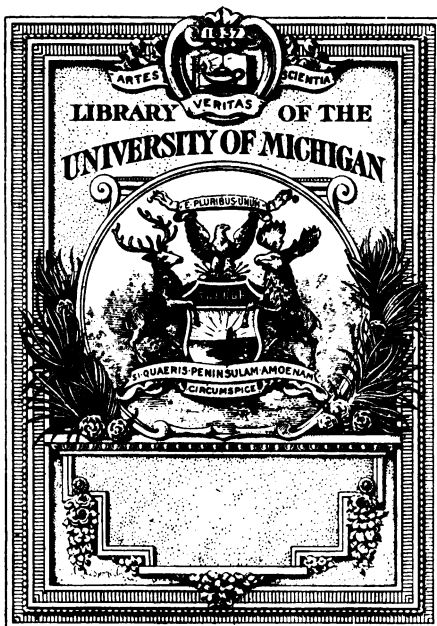
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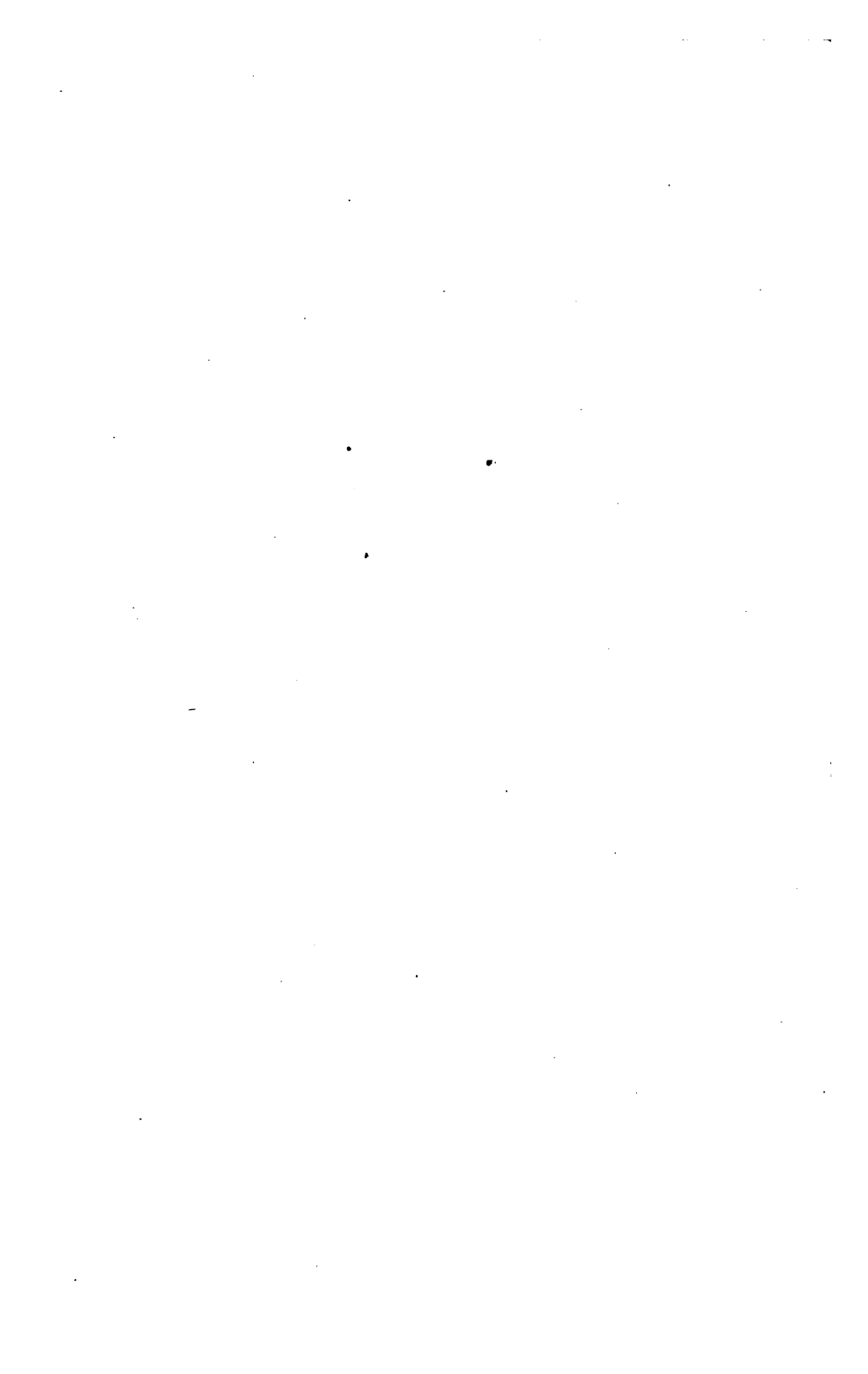


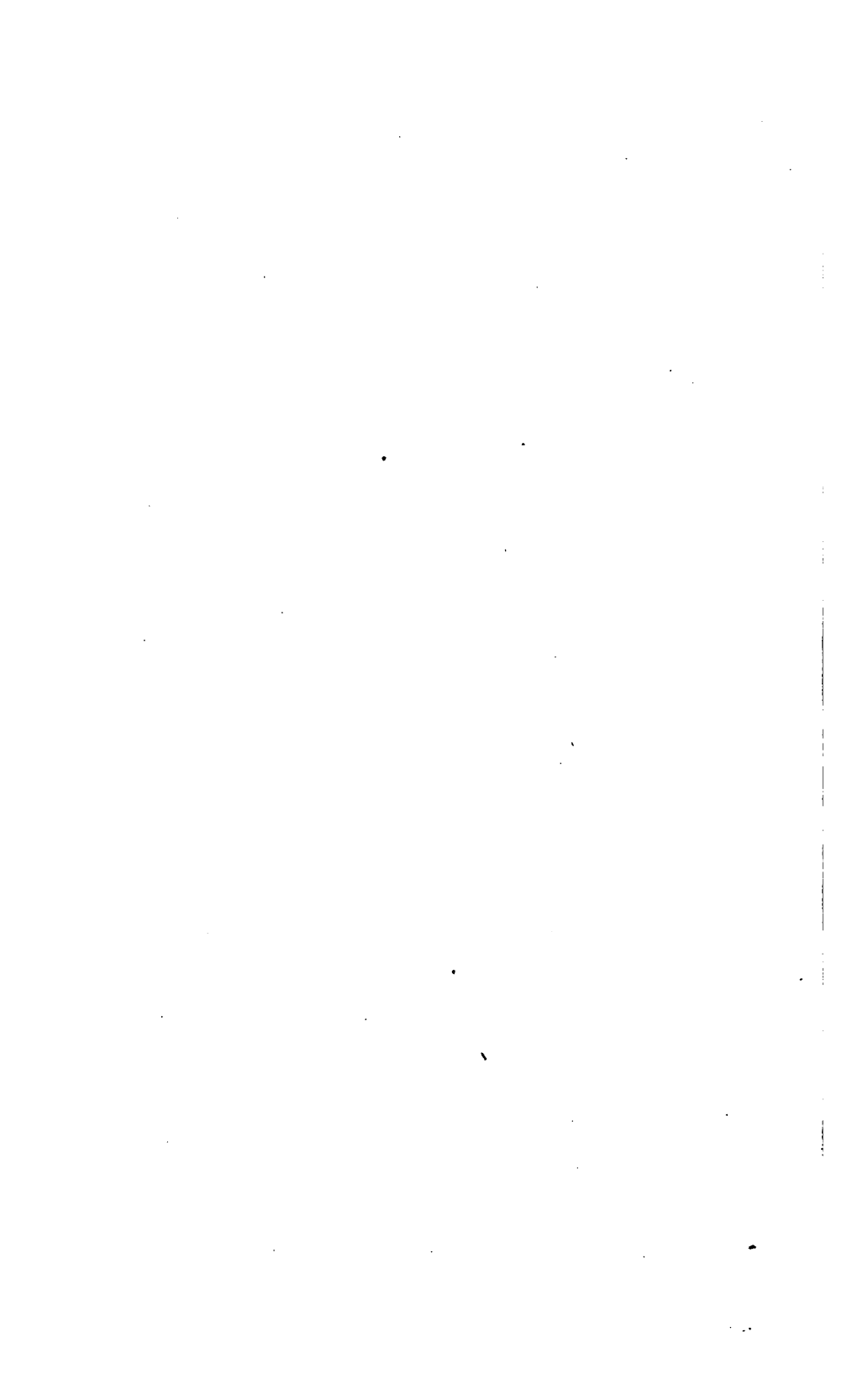
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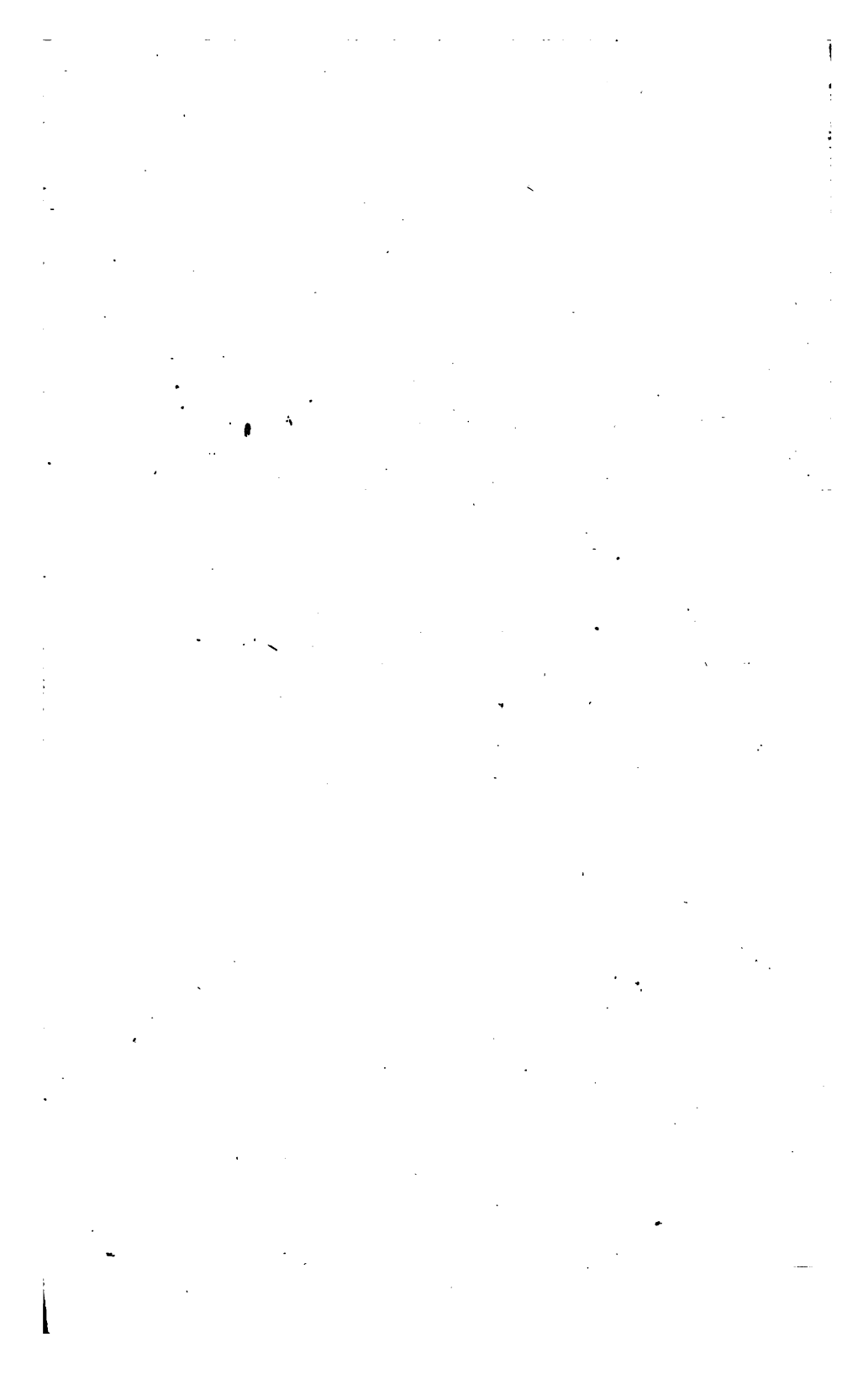
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I. CASTÉRA.

Published Feb.^r 22.th 1800, by J. Stoddale, Fleet-st.

HISTORY
OF
43857
CATHARINE II.
EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

BY
Henri
J. CASTÉRA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY HENRY HUNTER, D. D.

Nihil compositum miraculi causâ, verum audita, scriptaque
senioribus tradam. TACIT, *Ann. Lib. xi.*

EMBELLISHED WITH THIRTEEN PORTRAITS,
AND A VIEW OF THE FORTRESS OF SCHLUSSELBURGH.

London:
PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1800.

T. Gillet, Printer, Salisbury-Square.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE history of Society exhibits not, perhaps, an instance of usurpation so violent as that which seated Catharine II. on the throne of all the Russias, and never was an usurped throne maintained for so long a time, amidst convulsions so tremendous, and by acts so detestable of craft, cruelty and injustice. The love of empire and fame was her domineering, but by no means her exclusive passion. She contrived to blend the most daring ambition, that ever distinguished the male character, with the grossest sensuality that ever dishonoured the vilest of her own sex. The acquisition of fame is easy to any one who has the courage to be atrociously wicked. Pontius Pilate stands on the first of the rolls of fame, the Sacred Record, but for what? for having condemned, in his capacity of judge, an innocent person to a horrid death, knowing him to be innocent. Such is the dear-bought reputation which that bad woman has earned. She flattered herself, no doubt, that her puny virtues

and shining talents would descend to posterity, while her crimes should remain unknown, or sink into oblivion. But the reverse takes place. Her meagre attainments in wisdom and virtue are almost totally absorbed in the enormity of her guilt, both as a woman and a sovereign.

Her history presents to the world a moral picture highly and universally interesting and important. It admonishes Princes what they ought not to be, and Nations what they ought not to endure. It demonstrates, that power and splendor are but a miserable substitute for the testimony of a good conscience, and evinces the truth of two remarks of a very wise man and great monarch:—"Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily; therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil:" but "though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished."

Not merely, then, as an amusing book, and as a detail of facts, but as an instructive and powerfully impressive code of morals, I have translated the *History of Catharine II.* into English. By suppressing the notes, some of them uninteresting, many of them tedious, and a few not fit for the public eye; and by omitting the statistical appendix, I have been enabled to reduce the three volumes, of which the original consists, into one. This, of course, reduces the price

price very considerably, both of the original purchase, and in binding, while not a syllable of the history, properly so called, is withheld.

With the Author's sources of information, and his fidelity in using them, I have nothing to do. He discovers more candor, and less vanity, personal as well as national, than most French writers with whose works I am conversant. The stigma affixed to Admiral Greig's character, relative to the Princess Tarrakanoff, I am disposed to believe unjust. It is totally inconsistent with his spirit and conduct through a long, virtuous and respectable career. A British seaman is one of the noblest of human beings; and of the thousands of that profession with whom I have been acquainted, I never knew one who surpassed that Admiral in all the great and good qualities of the man, the officer, and, I add, the Christian.

It is far from being impossible that this, like some other of my publications, may provoke the censure of the self-important *Is* and *Wes* of anonymous pamphleteers, prefacers and appendix-mongers; but as I always affix my name to whatever I publish, I think it beneath me to enter the lists with a coward, who is irritated to the penning of a challenge, but wants the courage to add his signature and place of abode. I shall ever treat the ridicule or the abuse of an unknown

person with the contempt I bear to a snarling village-cur as I walk through the street, who yelps as if going to devour you, but slinks into his hole if you stop to look at him.

My original has, it seems, been treated in the same manner, and has taught me to adopt the same spirit. The last sentence of his preface shall, therefore, likewise be the last of mine :

“ I have also been criticised by a petty journalist, who has composed a great number of trifling works, altogether beneath criticism, and who, frequently talking of what he does not understand, is so much the more blame-worthy, in displaying jealousy of literary success, that such success has nothing in common with any he has ever been able to attain.”

H. H.

Hoxton,
26th April 1800.

AUTHOR'S

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

WHEN I composed the first sketch of this work, it was hurried to the press with so much precipitation, that I had it not in my power to give it either the form or the title under which it now appears. I entitled it only *The Life of Catharine II.* and that was saying a great deal. At present I have the presumption to think that it merits a more comprehensive denomination, as it contains not only the Private Life of that Princess, but a complete History of her Reign, nay a concise History of Russia, as well as the Statistical Delineation of that Empire.

To prove the undeniable authenticity of the facts stated in this Work, I consider myself as obliged to declare, with the rigid regard to candor which I profess, what are the sources from whence I derived them.

What relates to Peter I. to Catharine I. and to their successors, down to the reign of Elizabeth, is extracted from the Memoirs of the Count de Bruce, of Field-marshal Munich, and of General Manstein; from the secret Correspondence

ence of the King of Prussia, at the time when, being only Prince Royal, he wrote what perhaps he would not have suffered to escape him after he had mounted the throne; from a Collection of Anecdotes furnished to Voltaire, but of which, from a very culpable caution, that celebrated Author made no use; and finally, from a curious manuscript of Magnan, who, after having been Secretary to the able Negotiator Campredon, long remained *Chargé des Affaires* from France at the Court of Russia.

As to what concerns the reigns of Elizabeth, of Peter III. and of Catharine II. I have possessed very valuable materials, and which the most extraordinary concurrence of circumstances alone could procure for one and the same Writer. I have known particularly, in the north, men complete masters of all that passed at the court of Russia. I have had in my hands the remarks of the Count de Ranzau-Aschberg, who was Ambassador from Denmark to Peterburgh, and intimately connected with Gregory Orloff. From a memoir dictated by Soltikoff himself, I was enabled to detail the particulars of that Chamberlain's intercourse with Catharine, during the early period of that Princess's marriage. I have frequently read the secret correspondence of the Ministers of France, La Chetardie, Champeaux, l'Hopital, Breteuil, Beauffet, Juigné, and of the
Charges-

Chargés-d' Affaires Berenger, Sabathier, Rossignol, Durand. Another Minister of France into Russia, not less distinguished for his shining qualities than for his amiable talents, Segur, who lived some years in a close intimacy with Catharine II. and Potemkin, has not withheld from me the slightest article of information which depended on him. Colonel Laharpe, for ten years the tutor of the two Grand-dukes Alexander and Constantine Paulowitz, and, at the present day, one of the most zealous supporters of Helvetic liberty, has displayed towards me as much kindness as Segur.

The wise and brave General Kosciuszko has assured me, that all that I have written with respect to the events in which he performed a part so brilliant, is authentic. Some very judicious observations have been furnished to me by a foreign officer, who served a long time in the Russian marine; by the learned and modest Hermann; by the courageous and estimable Thurot; by a man who has been in habits of strict intimacy with the Orloffs and with Count Panin, and by other friends of truth. Finally, one of those to whom I am most indebted for the Statistical History of Russia, is the English Translator of the first edition of my work.

Undoubtedly, if I had made use of all the materials in my possession, this work, which is perhaps

haps already too voluminous, would have been considerably more so. But I chose only to record the facts which were at once real, and calculated to make known the character of Catharine and the manners of the Russians.

Not one of the men of information who have lived in Russia, has disputed a single fact which I advanced in my first edition. A few traits only, relative to Prince Ivan, and an anecdote respecting the dismissal of the favourite Zoritz, have been, without any authority, called in question, by the paraphrast of a pretended History of Peter III. a history, the original manuscript of which was the production of the very diffuse Leclerc, and to which have been subjoined the amours of Catharine, disfigured from my first edition, and enriched with some Teutonic details, copied word for word in the *Minerva* of Archenholtz.

I have also been criticised by a petty Journalist, who has composed a great number of trifling works, altogether beneath criticism, and who, frequently talking of things which he does not understand, is so much the more blame-worthy in displaying a jealousy of literary success, that such success has nothing in common with any he has ever been able to attain.

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AT THE LANCET'S POINT.

How an Intelligent Physician Won a Fortune and a Title.

The death was recently reported of one of the wearers of a title little known, and, indeed, not mentioned in some of the current books of reference—the Dowager Baroness Dimsdale. The title is a foreign one and was curiously obtained. Dr. Thomas Dimsdale, who was born in 1742, was the grandson of Robert Dimsdale, one of Penn's companions. Having made a fortune and inherited an ample patrimony, he had retired from practice, but struck with the discovery of his friend Jenner, of which he had from the first recognized the inestimable value, he had again returned to his profession, when, in 1762, the Empress Catherine of Russia sent to England a request that some skillful doctor might be dispatched to St. Petersburg to introduce the practice of inoculation. Dr. Dimsdale was selected, and having successfully inoculated the Empress and her son, had the satisfaction of seeing their example followed by the other members of the Imperial family and the aristocracy in general, and of instructing many of his Russian confreres in the science of inoculation. The grateful and courageous Empress settled £300 a year on him for life and gave him £12,000 in money, with her portrait set with diamonds, and numerous other handsome gifts, and conferred on him and his second son, Nathaniel, who had accompanied him, a Barony of the Russian Empire with the title of "Honorable." She also obtained from George III. permission for the doctor and his successors to bear that title in England, and gave the family leave to add to its arms the right wing of the displayed black eagle of the Imperial coat on a gold shield. An incident of this journey deserves to be recorded to the credit of the great Empress for whose private character history has been so merciless. The evening before the Empress was to undergo the process of vaccination she required the presence of Dr. Dimsdale. He found her in her apartments with one or two of her ladies, one of her Ministers and two officers—one in a military and one in a naval uniform. She told the doctor that though she had perfect confidence in the process she felt she could not possibly introduce it into her kingdom without herself initiating it. But she felt also that it was quite possible that through ill-fate it might end in her death, and that in that case he (the doctor) would certainly be torn to pieces by the populace. She had, therefore, taken measures to avert that danger. She enjoined him by her express command that if he found the symptoms in her case becoming dangerous he was to give such instructions as he thought advisable to her own physicians, who were already acting with him, and then he was at once to place himself in the hands of the two officers then present. The one would be prepared with an escort to take him safely to the ship of war which would convey him to England, where his reward, agreed on with the British Government, was already secured.

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HISTORY
OF
CATHARINE II.
EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION. *Extent and Population of Russia—
Origin of the Russians—Abridged Account of their
History previous to the Accession of the Romanoffs to
the Throne—Continuation of that History down to
the Reign of Elizabeth, Daughter of Peter I.*

CATHARINE II. has had so powerful an influence over the destinies of a great part of her contemporaries, that it will not, doubtless, be unimportant to retrace the events of her reign. In recounting the brilliant or the terrible actions of this reign, I shall neither overlook the secret intrigues which produced them, nor the details of ambition and of voluptuousness so carefully concealed from the public view, and known only to the confidants of Catharine. These details will serve to display more openly the character of the most deceitful of women who ever swayed the sceptre, and will bring into view all that nations have to apprehend from the caprice of tyrants.

I believe I ought to commence by giving an idea of those countries and of those nations over which Catharine II. reigned, as well as the revolutions which they have undergone. Let it not be supposed, however, that I intend to dwell long on the picture of those ages in which Russia was in a state of mere barbarism; vulgar princes and obscure reigns are too much beneath the pen of an historian.

The empire of Russia is the most extensive in the world. In the year 1785 it comprehended in length one hundred and sixty-eight degrees, and in its unequal breadth near thirty-two degrees. Its surface was 949,375 square leagues, or 422,373 myriameters, and $\frac{1}{17}$ of a myriameter, of which the fifth part lies in Europe, and the remainder in Asia, this amounts to nearly an eighth and an half of the known land of the globe.

But this empire is now farther increased by the last division of Poland and by the union of Courland.

The centre of Russia forms an immense plain, of which almost all the sides extend in an imperceptible declination, and from whence issue a considerable number of great and smaller rivers.

This empire is bounded to the north by the Frozen Ocean, of which one arm forms the White Sea. Not far from this is situated the port of Archangel.

To the South, it has the Black Sea, the Kuban, Circassia, the Caspian Sea, Grand Tartary, and the deserts, which extend as far as China.

To the east are the Sea of Japan, and the Strait of Anadyr, which separates Asia from the north-west coasts of America.

Finally, to the westward of Russia, we find Danish Lapland, Swedish Lapland, Finland, the Baltic Sea, and Poland, of which, for some years past, the finest provinces are become provinces of Russia.

Independently of the numerous rivers which flow through Russia, we behold here several lakes and beautiful canals, the most considerable and most useful of which, the canal of Wischni-Wolodzock, joins the Volga to Lake Ladoga, and serves, of consequence, as a means of communication between the Caspian Sea and the Baltic.

The mountains of Russia are rich in wood and in minerals. Its forests contain vast numbers of animals, whose furs are in great request. A part of its plains produces a great quantity of wheat and other
sorts

sorts of grain ; and its rivers and lakes abound with fish.

It must not, however, be supposed, that a country so immense should be in every part habitable. If we there meet with very fertile provinces and with temperate climes, we likewise behold forests entirely desert, and regions where snow, ice, and the rigours of a sky uniformly severe, disclose to view, and but rarely, the huts of some miserable exiles, or of scanty tribes hardly emerged from barbarism.

Five and thirty years ago the population of Russia was estimated at only twenty millions of inhabitants, of which number sixteen millions were in Europe, and but four millions in Asia. Under the reign of Catharine II, this population has increased more than a third. Besides, Poland, Courland, the Crimea, Bessarabia, and an influx from other countries, have added to it five millions of subjects ; so that at present the number of the whole inhabitants of the Russian states amounts at least to two and thirty millions.

We perceive by this, that the medium term of the population of Russia is nearly seventy-five inhabitants to a square myriameter. But this population is very small, when we compare it with that of France and of England, where in the same space of ground are reckoned two thousand five hundred persons: besides, the inhabitants of Russia are, in general, an assemblage of untaught tribes, and of wandering hordes, whose language very frequently is hardly intelligible to Russians properly so called.

Without pausing here to describe the different nations, whose names are as barbarous as their manners, I shall endeavour to depict the Russians in general, since the epocha at which they were first known.

Nearly nine hundred and fifty years have elapsed since the Russians intermingled themselves with a part of those Slaves or Slavonians who, from the east, migrated into the north, and, after having settled

on the shores of the Caspian Sea and of the Palus Meotis, spread themselves over different parts of Europe. Those who attempt to give reasons for every thing have derived the origin of the Slavonians from Saklah, and of the Russians from Rous, both of them sons of Japhet, the youngest of the children of Noah. But a much more undoubted fact is, that we are ignorant of the real origin of the Slavonians, and that the Russians who, in confounding themselves with them, have concluded by giving them their name, are sprung from that innumerable family of Huns, whose armies, like destructive torrents, inundated the most beautiful countries of Asia and of Europe, and accelerated the downfall of the Roman empire.

The first city which the Slavonians built in Russia was named Sclavensk, and was situated on the banks of the Wolkoff, at a short distance from Lake Ilmen. This was the staple of that commerce which the Slavonians carried on at the same time with the Greeks of Constantinople, and with the inhabitants of the shores of the Baltic. War and epidemical diseases twice desolated Sclavensk, and caused it to be abandoned.

At the commencement of the fifth century the Slavonians erected, not far from the ruins of Sclavensk, the city of Novogorod, which became very soon more commercial and richer than the first had ever been. During this period a waterman, named Kii, laid upon the banks of the Dnieper the foundation of Kioeff; and Kioeff was for a long time the metropolis of the Russians, as Novogorod was that of the Slavonians.

It is pretended, that not contented with having built his city, Kii wished to signalize himself by conquests, and that he carried his victorious arms as far as the sea of Marmora. But at that time neither the Russians nor the Slavonians could set down in writing those events of which they were the authors

or

or the witnesses, as they did not even possess an alphabet; and there is every reason to believe, that what has been related of Kii is altogether fabulous.

A. D. 851. It is only from the year 851 that the Byzantine annals date the first incursion which the Russians made into the Greek empire. They had before that ravaged the shores of the Black Sea and of the Bosphorus, and, with a fleet of two hundred small vessels, they blocked up the port of Constantinople. The Emperor Michael III. reigned at that period. Instead of making any attempt toward a valiant defence, he had recourse to the Greek Patriarch, who went to steep in the sea the garments of a statue of the Virgin, in order to obtain by their means assistance against the Russians. Shortly after a storm dispersed the enemy's fleet. They did not fail to proclaim a miracle. Chance was so favourable to superstition that it extended its effects even to the Russians. As the purchase of peace, Oskhold, their chief, requested baptism, and carried back Christianity to Kioeff.

Notwithstanding, the city of Novogorod had no reason to regard Kioeff as an object of envy; her own commerce rendered her every day more flourishing. Occasionally tributary to some of the pirates of Vareses, whose cupidity she had excited, she bravely shook off this disgrace, and in her turn imposed the yoke on divers nations contiguous to her territory. Her success rendered her so formidable, that it was said proverbially—"Who shall dare to attack God and Novogorod the Great."

The inhabitants of Novogorod did not acknowledge a master: their government was democratical, and every one there had a right to aspire after authority, and to employ himself in modelling the state, as they all possessed the power of increasing their private fortunes by commerce. But of what use were these advantages to them? Despicable

republicans ! In the very bosom of prosperity and equality they knew not how to be either happy or free. They had riches, but not the art of enjoying them ; ambition, but not prudence ; and the pride of commanding, without the expectation of being obeyed. Their divisions, their quarrels, terminated in blood : to put a stop to this, they agreed to make choice of foreign chiefs. They, upon that occasion made application to the Russian Vareses, with whose valour they were well acquainted. Immediately three brothers, distinguished among the pirates of the Baltic, arrived with their companions, to establish peace and servitude among the Novgorodians.

A. D. 862. These princes, named Rourik, Cinaf, and Trouvor, did not take up their residence in Novgorod. Whether it was to prevent all rivalry among themselves, or whether it was in complaisance to subjects whom the novelty of the yoke perhaps still rendered untractable, they settled separately, upon the three principal frontiers of the republic which had just given itself up to them. Rourik reared near Wolkoff, a city which has been called Old Ladoga, since Peter I. built another of the same name in the neighbourhood of this. Cinaf fixed his residence on the northern shore of the Biéloyé Oséro ; and Trouvor stationed himself at Isborik, near lake Pleskoff, towards the confines of the ancient Livonia. By this method, these three princes had it in their power easily to control the several nations which the Novgorodians had brought into subjection, and whose inroads they apprehended.

From this period, the whole country subjected to Rourik and his brothers was known only under the name of Russia, and its inhabitants under that of Russians. However, in a very short time the Novgorodians felt but too sensibly the yoke of iron which they had so imprudently imposed upon themselves. They were tempted still more imprudently to endeavour to shake it off. They took up arms,

Vadim,

Vadim, who was at their head, received a death-blow from Rourik's own hand, who, not satisfied with having beheld a prodigious number of his new subjects fall beneath his stroke in the field, delivered up to the executioner all those from whom he had still reason to apprehend rebellion.

A. D. 864. Shortly after Rourik had glutted his vengeance, his two brothers died without issue, and left him sole master of their joint estates. He quitted the city of Ladoga, and established himself at Novogorod, which he fortified with a rampart of earth and wood. In order to recompense those Varegian warriors who had been the most instrumental in aiding him to conquer the Novogorodians, he gave them the command of his principal cities; but this did not prevent some among them from withdrawing themselves, who chose rather to do this than to remain in subjection to the despotism of his benefits.

A. D. 879. Rourik died after a reign of seventeen years. He left but one son of the age of four, who was named Igor, and the care of whose education he confided to Oleg, his kinsman.

This charge was without doubt a very sacred one to Oleg, for he retained it till the time of his death, that is to say, during thirty-four years. Finding, besides, that the states of his pupil were very contracted, he employed himself in extending them. He brought the Drewlians into subjection; he made himself master of Smolensko and Lubetz by force,

A. D. 884. and of Kiœff by treachery, and by the massacre of the princes Oskhold and Dir who reigned there. Oleg upon this established his residence at Kiœff, and armed a fleet of two thousand boats, with which he went to

A. D. 904. lay Constantinople under tribute. In this audacious and barbarous expedition, the Russians abandoned themselves to all the excesses, and committed all the crimes which could possibly disgrace the most ferocious of conquerors.

They overcame obstacles which appeared to be insurmountable; but their success will excite less astonishment, if we reflect that other pirates, who, like them, had but a few crazy skiffs, several times vanquished England, and ravaged the coasts of France, and that since, the freebooters, with their little canoes, for a long time caused the conquerors of the new world to tremble.

A. D. 913. Igor, gave convincing proofs that he was a pupil worthy of Oleg. After having for a long time carried on war with the nations contiguous to his states, he took his departure with ten thousand vessels and an army of four hundred thousand warriors, with the intention of laying waste the em-

pire of the east, and he deluged with

A. D. 941. blood Pontus, Bithynia and Paphlagonia.

There is no species of cruelty which the Russians did not exercise against the wretched inhabitants of those countries. But the Greeks had at last recourse to that terrible invention which bears their name. The Greek fire which they darted on the Russian fleet, destroyed a great part of it. Several engagements were productive of equally fatal consequences to Igor, and this barbarian led back to Kioff only a third of the numerous army with which he had set out. However, a second expedition proved less unfortunate for the Russians: the Greek Emperor chose rather to pay them tribute than to attempt to vanquish them.

A. D. 945. Alga, the wife of Igor, was, at the death of this prince, left charged with the government of his states, and she shewed that she was no less barbarous than he had been, but more perfidious and more superstitious. In her old age she embraced Christianity. Her conversion was neither imitated by her subjects, nor even by her son, to whom she then yielded up the throne. The same

A. D. 955. example, given by Voladimir I, one of her descendants, had a greater effect.

After

After having passed the most considerable portion of his life in the fury of carnage, and in the stupidity of idolatry, he took a fancy to become a Christian according to the Greek rites, and to espouse the sister of the Emperor of Constantinople, who durst not refuse her to him. In causing himself to be baptized, he commanded his subjects to do the same. Every one hastened to obey him.

A. D. 988. The Russians and the Slavonians had till that period acknowledged several deities, of which the principal was *Peroun*, who they believed hurled the thunder, and regulated at his pleasure all the celestial phenomena, and to whom they frequently sacrificed human victims. *Koupalo* was the god of plenty and of harvests; and his worshippers did not bedew his altars with blood, nor those of *Lada*, whom they regarded as the goddess of love. Other divinities protected flocks, or presided over war, navigation, sleep, or riches; for the mythology which created them, seems to have been nothing but a gross imitation of the Grecian mythology.

As soon as Voladimir became Christian, he wished to give a proof of the impotence of those idols he had so long adored. He ordered that of *Peroun* to be fastened to the tail of a horse, who drew it to the very brink of the Dnieper, whilst a dozen soldiers beat it lustily with a stick, after which it was thrown into the river.

We will not stop to review the actions of the Sviatossas, the Sviatopolks, the Yarossas, and a croud of other princes, whose only object was to tyrannize over their subjects, and to disturb their neighbours. During the first four centuries, of which the Russian history makes mention, it only presents a constant succession of iniquitous aggression, of atrocious combats, and of absurd superstitions. We frequently behold there the most perfidious treachery concealing itself under the veil of sincerity; brother murdered by the hand of brother; stupidity pouring forth the accusations of
forcery;

forcery ; and causing its victims to perish by fire and by the sword ; old age and infancy butchered without mercy ; the conquered loaded with chains, whilst even before their eyes their wives and their daughters were compelled to satiate the brutality of the conquerors ; the Petchenegues, the Kozars, the Turks, the Polowitfi laying waste together, or by turns, Russia aggrandized at their expense ; the Hungarians, the Lithuanians, the Poles, attacking it on another side ; the children of Russian sovereigns always up in arms to dispute the inheritance of their fathers. Whoever peruses the details of the reign of one of those barbarians, beholds that of all of them, for each resembles another in ambition, ignorance, and in the commission of crimes.

A. D. 1220. But a great revolution interrupted for a time their tyranny, without altering their character. Among that numerous race of people whom we design under the general name of Tartars, and who pretend to be all descended from Turk or Tourk, the eldest of the eight sons of Japhet, there are some tribes which have become infinitely more powerful than others. Such were, at that time, those which had as chiefs two brothers, the one of whom was named Tatar, the other Mongoul, and which have been since divided into a considerable number of hordes, who distinguish themselves by different names.

In that of the Mongouls, arose the celebrated Genghis-Khan, he who of all conquerors has extended the farthest the power of his arms. The death of his father, left him at the age of thirteen years the chief of a tribe composed of forty thousand families. Instead of beginning to carry on war immediately, he employed himself, during six and twenty years, in disciplining his troops, and insuring to himself all the methods of obtaining victory. After having reduced to subjection the hordes in the neighbourhood of his own, he proceeded to take possession of the greatest part of China, of the half of Indostan, almost the whole
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of Persia, and, re-ascending the Volga, he subjugated the kingdoms of Kasan and of Astrakan, and all that country which then served as the boundary of Russia to the south. His conquests were extended over more than a space of eighteen hundred leagues from east to west, and more than a thousand from north to south.

A. D. 1224. In contemplating this vast theatre of the triumphs of Genghis-Khan, the astonished imagination cannot refrain from pausing with an emotion of admiration. But when we reflect afterwards, that all the steps of this victorious Tartar were marked by conflagration, murder, and pillage, we must undergo for some time the deepest horror. And how is it possible to forbear detesting a robber, who only existed for the purpose of invading the earth, and who placed his whole happiness in oppression, and his glory in destruction?

The generals of Genghis-Khan had defeated several Russian armies, and cut the throats of some of the princes of that nation : but it was reserved for Batou-Sagin, grandson of the victorious Tartar, to subjugate

Russia entirely. He appeared there in

A. D. 1235. the character of a complete exterminator.

He reduced to ashes a great number of cities and villages, and caused to be massacred not only the inhabitants who made the slightest resistance, but frequently those who submitted and implored his pity. In this bloody invasion the Tartars renewed all those excesses of which the Russians had so many times given the horrible example.

A. D. 1240. Scarcely had the Tartars begun to aim at new conquests, than the chevaliers *Porte-glaires*, who, under pretext of propagating the Christian religion, had made themselves masters of Livonia and of Estonia, joined themselves to Eric the stammerer, king of Sweden, in order to attack the Russians. Victory remained with these last ; and as they had conveyed back to the shores of the Neva,
the

the prince Alexander, who commanded them, they imposed on him the surname of Newsky.

The Russians continued, during three centuries, vassals of the Tartars, who gave to the princes of Kieff, of Novogorod, of Volodimir, of Moscow, the investiture of their estates, or dispossessed them at pleasure, and frequently put them to death. Frequently also the Russian princes, oppressed and jealous, made war with each other, or had to defend themselves against the Poles, the Swedes, and other neighbouring nations.

A. D. 1462. Nevertheless the power of the Tartars became weakened by division. Ivan III. Waffiliewitz, had the address to profit by it. He compelled the Khan Ibrahim to become tributary to him. Ivan IV. was still more fortunate. After having caused himself to be crowned at Moscow, and being the first Russian sovereign who received solemnly the title

A. D. 1547. of Czar, he attacked the Tartars, vanquished them in several engagements, and made himself master of Kasan and of Astrakan. He repulsed the Sultan of the

A. D. 1555. Turks, Selim II. who had formed the project of taking possession of the last mentioned city. Finally, he conquered the Poles and the chevaliers Porte-Glaives.

Ivan IV. ordered a code of laws to be composed, among which we find some that are wise and others extremely barbarous; such are the trials by fire, by boiling water, and the combat in an enclosed field between the accuser and the accused. But, although a legislator, Ivan was himself the most absurd and most cruel of all despots. Whoever had the misfortune to approach him, became, upon the slightest pretext, the victim of his ferocious caprice. Almost all his favorites perished by his orders. The women whom he met in the streets were frequently sent to the gibbet, or exposed to every species of ignominious torment.

However,

However, fortune which had for so long a time been favourable to Ivan, abandoned him all at once. The Tartars of the Crimea ravaged Russia, and proceeded so far as to set on fire the suburbs of Moscow; the Swedes, aided by the Poles, took Narva, and advanced up to Novogorod. Ivan vanquished on all sides, in a fit of rage killed his own son; and, polluted with blood and debauchery, died after transforming himself into a friar. A. D. 1584.

Under the reign of this prince, some English merchants, who navigated on the White Sea, entered into the northern Dwina, discovered the port of Archangel, and penetrated as far as Moscow. The Czar received them with joy, and invited them to continue their commerce in his states, a commerce which has greatly increased since that period.

It was also under Ivan IV. that the conquest of Siberia was completed. A merchant, named Anika Strogonoff, who had a manufactory of salt on the banks of a river, the waters of which emptied themselves into the Dwina, having several times seen some foreigners, remarkable from their dress, their features, and their language, come to sell him beautiful furs, and other valuable articles, ordered some of his people to accompany them on their return. They penetrated with these strangers up to the shores of the Obi. After having greatly enriched himself by the commerce which he carried on with the Siberians, Anika Strogonoff gave notice of his discovery to the court of Moscow. The Czar wished to subjugate this people, but the army which he sent out against them was completely destroyed. He had altogether renounced the idea of attacking them anew, when a Kosac, named Yermak, who had been guilty of several criminal enterprises against the Russians, attempted to conceal himself from their vengeance, and endeavoured to penetrate into Siberia at the head of six thousand of his companions. He had to brave at once the length and the difficulties of the road,
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the courage and the number of the nations whom he was going to attack, hunger, the rigours of the most excessive cold; but he overcame them all, and after having lost more than eleven twelfths of his little army, he remained master of Sibir, and of a part of the shores of the Irtych and the Tobol. He hastened to present the homage of his conquests at the court of Moscow, in the view of procuring his pardon. He obtained it indeed: but had not long the enjoyment of it. In endeavouring to escape a snare which a Khan of Siberia had laid for the purpose of having him massacred, he fell into a river and was drowned. Some time after this, perfidy and violence put the finishing stroke to the subjugation of Siberia to the Russians.

It may be here observed that the Kosacs, of whom Yermak was one of the most audacious, and who compose at this day a formidable part of the Russian armies, are the remains of those ancient Kosacs, who, although of the race of the Slavonians, pretend to the honour of a peculiar origin, calling themselves the descendants of Kamari, the seventh son of Japhet, and have sometimes assumed his name, which procured for them from the Greeks the appellation of Cimmeri, and from the Romans that of Cimbri.

A. D. 1598. Fedor I. the timid and feeble son of the ferocious Ivan IV. reigned after him, and was the last prince of a dynasty, which in the space of 736 years gave fifty-two sovereigns to Russia.

Boris Godounoff, who paved his way to the throne by the assassination of the Czarowitz Demitri and by other murders, pretended at first to decline accepting the throne which his partisans offered him: but shortly after he ascended and disgraced it, like the greater part of his predecessors, by the most shocking cruelties. On his death his son Fedor II.

A. D. 1605. succeeded him, and very soon lost, in a barbarous manner, the bloody inheritance which his father had usurped. A monk, named Otrepieff, made himself pass for the Czarowitz Demitri,

tri, escaped from the dagger of his assassins. Instigated by the intrigues of the Jesuits, to whom he had promised the conversion of Russia to the Roman Catholic religion, and seconded by the arms of the Kossacs and of the Poles, he took possession of Moscow, and delivered up to the executioner the Czar Fedor, the Czarina, the mother of that prince, and the remainder of their family. Fedor was strangled over the bleeding body of his mother.

Otrepieff was peaceably crowned at Moscow, and the mother of Demitri acknowledged him for her son. He afterwards espoused, with great pomp, the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, the young and ambitious Marina, with whom he had fallen in love in Poland. But the moment he ceased to employ severity, conspiracies were formed against him. It must be confessed, to the disgrace of the Russians, that the clemency of their Czars has almost always been productive of fatal consequences to those princes. Waffili Chouisky, whom Otrepieff had snatched from the scaffold, repaid his benefits with the blackest ingratitude. He deprived him of his throne and his life; and the Czarina-mother, who had declared this same Otrepieff to be her son, now asserted that he was a rank impostor.

A. D. 1606. Chouisky received the reward of his crime. He caused himself to be proclaimed Czar, and shewed himself worthy of his title only by his tyranny. The enemy of all those who presumed to distinguish themselves by their talents or their virtues, he never failed to bring them to punishment. He embued his hands in the blood of his nearest relations. The boyards, in indignation, raised up against him three new pretended Demitri, and concluded by deposing him and by obliging him to turn monk. Carried off by one of the generals of the king of Poland, Sigismund III. he was conducted to Warsaw, where he terminated, shortly after, his turbulent career.

The

The deposition and death of Chourky were succeeded by an interregnum of three years. The Russians at first chose for Czar Uladislaus, A. D. 1610. son of the King of Poland. But Sigismund liking better to attempt dismembering Russia than to behold his son sovereign there, was in no haste to send him to take possession of the throne which awaited him; and the Russians, dissatisfied with the projects of plunder which Sigismund had formed, renounced the idea of having his son to reign over them.

The Swedish general, Pontus de la Gardie, had gotten possession of Novogorod, which was always regarded as the cradle of the Russian nation. The inhabitants of this city demanded for their sovereign Prince Charles-Philip of Sweden. But is there not, then, upon the throne, a single man exempt from that jealous selfishness which ambition inspires? The greatest of the heroes of the seventeenth century, Gustavus-Adolphus, dreaded to see his brother master of an empire more vast than his own.

A. D. 1630. [At last, the boyards, the woiwodes, the landed-proprietors, the deputies of the cities, and all those who composed the states of Russia, assembled at Moscow, and solemnly elected for Czar, a young man of sixteen, Michael Yourieff, better known by the name of Michael Romanoff, and son of Philaret, metropolitan of Rostoff. This last, at that period, was languishing in a prison at Warsaw, and his son Michael was educated in a convent of Kostroma. The mother of Michael, who also lived at Kostroma, had been compelled to become a nun, as Philaret had been obliged to turn priest.

The head of the family of the Romanoffs was a Prussian, named André, who settled in Russia towards the close of the fourteenth century. Genealogists have not failed to make a prince of this André, but nothing can be more certain than, that it is not known who
he

he was; and of what importance is it? If his descendants reigned gloriously, their origin is always sufficiently noble.

A. D. 1618. - The Swedes and the Poles continued for some time to extend their conquests in Russia, and peace left them masters of part of the provinces of that empire, which has since aggrandized itself so much at their expense.

As soon as the return of peace had restored the metropolitan Philaretos to liberty, the young Czar, his son, elevated him to the dignity of patriarch, and suffered himself to be entirely directed by him. The old man was highly worthy of this confidence.

Michael Romanoff had already occupied the throne twelve years without entertaining thoughts of marriage. However, the nobles and the clergy having given him a solemn invitation to take a wife, he acceded to their wishes.

A. D. 1625. From the period that the Russian sovereigns were masters of the kingdoms of Kasan and Astrakan, they had adopted several Asiatic customs, and among others, that of chusing their consorts from among their own subjects. The most beautiful girls of the empire were ordered to come to the capital; they were lodged in a building separated from the palace, and divided into several apartments. On the day which the Czar had fixed upon for making his choice, he paid a visit to this house, accompanied by a boyard, respectable from his age and his character, and seated himself upon a throne. All the candidates came one after another to prostrate themselves before the prince, who after having examined them, threw over their naked breast a veil ornamented with pearls and precious stones. However, it was not known in favour of whom he had decided, till the day of marriage. She then received the nuptial robe, and to the others were distributed clothes and other presents with which they returned each one to her family.

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Michael

Michael Romanoff chose for his wife the daughter of a prince Dolgorouky, but from the moment that she mounted the throne, she languished, and expired at the end of four months. The superstitious Russians attributed her death to witchcraft, and several persons perished on the scaffold absurdly accused of this crime. The Czar supplied the place of this princess by Eudoxa Streschneff, daughter of a poor boyard, who himself cultivated his own fields.

A. D. 1632. The patriarch Philaretes had given encouragement to commerce and the arts; at his death, their progress was interrupted. The Czar, deprived of the wise counsels of his father, renewed the war against Poland, and after several fruitless efforts to retake Smolensko, found himself reduced to sue for peace. This prince died in 1645, and left the throne to his son Alexis Michaelowitz, aged only sixteen.

Alexis had for governor the boyard Boris Morozoff, who was in haste to have him crowned, and become his prime minister, or rather reigned despotically under his name. Meanness and flattery were the first arts which Morozoff employed in order to exalt himself; perfidy, violence, cruelty, became afterwards the familiar instruments of his ambition. Although at an advanced age, he had become enamoured of a daughter of the boyard Miloslavsky, and he persuaded Alexis to elevate to the rank of Czarina, the second daughter of this boyard; after which he married the one whom he loved. However, his haughtiness, his avarice, his unremitting injustice, stirred up a general revolt in Moscow. His three principal accomplices became the victims of the fury of the people, and he only escaped himself in consequence of the humble intercession which the Czar condescended to employ in order to save him.

The reign of Alexis was disturbed by other revolts; but the only methods employed to quell them, were the

the sabre of the firelitzes and the axe of the executioner. A new impostor endeavoured to pass himself for the son of the Czarowitz Demitri; but he had soon reason to repent it. Duke Christian Albert de Holstein, into whose states he had withdrawn, sold him to Alexis, and by his command he was cut into quarters at Moscow.

A Kosac of the Don, named Stenko Razin, gave the Czar more serious inquietude. Having made himself chief of a band of robbers of his own nation, he restricted himself for some time to pillaging the Russian caravans and the vessels which sailed down the Volga. Afterwards, emboldened by his success, he took some cities by surprise, and massacred the garrison and the principal inhabitants, drove back the troops which were sent out against him; took possession of all the vessels which navigated the Caspian Sea,

made a descent upon the coasts of Persia, laid waste a part of Guilan; took prisoner the son of the governor of that province, and returned into Russia with the audacious project of making himself king of Astrakan.

But his good fortune had a period: instead of the throne which he hoped for, he found

A. D. 1673. only a scaffold. More than twelve thousand of his accomplices were hanged, upon the highways which terminate in Astrakan.

The Czar having declared war against Poland, retook Smolensko, Kioeff, Bielo-Oséro, and their territory which had been taken from Russia, and of which it has since that period kept possession. At the same time the Kosacs of the Ukraine, dissatisfied with the Poles, acknowledged the Czar for their sovereign; this added to Russia one of its most beautiful provinces. Alexis afterwards turned his forces against the Swedes, and at first obtained some success, which was succeeded by a sudden reverse and a forced peace.

This prince did not bound himself to the desire of aggrandizing his estates. He employed himself likewise in the care of enriching and civilizing them. Before his reign, the prisoners of war remained the slaves of the officers who took them. He altered this custom. He determined that the prisoners should belong to no one but the state only, and by this means, he transported colonies of Lithuanians, of Poles, and of Tartars, into the deserts in the vicinity of the Volga and of the Kama. He encouraged the sciences, commerce, the arts; and if they did not flourish greatly in his time, the progress which they have made under the reign of his successors is not the less to be attributed to him. As he was desirous of having fleets on the Caspian and Black Seas, he procured from Holland carpenters and seamen, qualified to instruct his subjects in the art of ship-building and in navigation. Finally, he composed a code of laws which, all imperfect as it is, far excels that of Ivan IV. But it is, unhappily, to Alexis Michaëlowitz that we must impute the institution of a tribunal which is named the *Secret Chancery*, a state inquisition, not less sanguinary, not less barbarous than that which, under the mask of piety, has so long been the disgrace, and produced the desolation, of certain Catholic countries.

The first wife of the Czar dying in 1669, this prince married very soon after Natalia Narischkin, by whom he had that prince who became so celebrated under the name of Peter I.

Alexis died in the forty-sixth year of his age. He left by his first marriage two sons and six daughters. The eldest named Fedor, who was only fifteen years old, and whom he had caused to be acknowledged his successor, ascended the throne after him.

Fedor Alexiowitz was of a weak and valetudinary temperament; but he had a decided character, and gave a proof of it in executing a project which was to alienate from him the hearts of all the boyards.

This

This project, conceived by the prince Waffili-Galitzin, his minister, consisted in annihilating the genealogies, which served to nourish the pretensions and the idle rivalships of the nobility. Fedor approved of it; and having ordered all the titles of noble families to be brought to him, under pretext of committing them to a grand register, he had them solemnly burnt in presence of his council and of the patriarch. Few genealogies escaped this conflagration. The names of the nobles were afterwards inscribed on two public registers. A. D. 1681.

Fedor reigned only six years. Death carried him off in the flower of his age. Some time before he expired, perceiving that his brother Ivan, destitute at once of bodily and mental qualities, was incapable of reigning, he named as the heir of the throne, his second brother, Peter, aged only ten years, but endowed with a robust constitution, and already announcing an intrepid character.

The choice of Fedor was highly disapproved by Sophia, the third of his sisters, a sprightly, intriguing and bold princess, who foresaw that if the feeble Ivan ascended the throne she would reign under his name, and that if, on the contrary, Peter was crowned, the Narischkin family would hold the reins of government. Sophia immediately engaged her friends and partisans to gain over, in secret, the numerous guard of the strelitzes. The money and the calumnies which were disseminated easily seduced them. Twenty thousand of these barbarous troops surrounded the Kremlin, which is the palace of the Czars, at Moscow; and after they had inflicted the shameful punishment of the battoges * on nine of their colonels, whom they accused of not having paid them punctually, they ordered the two brothers Narischkin to be delivered up to them, threw one of them from the windows, cut the

* The patient is stripped naked, stretched along upon the belly, and beaten with rods by two executioners.

other in pieces, massacred forty more whom they had proscribed, and some unfortunate beings who were not upon their fatal list, and proclaimed as sovereigns: the two princes Ivan and Peter, associating with them the princess Sophia in quality of regent.

From this moment Sophia took possession of the supreme power, and divided it with her lover Waffili-Galitzin, whom she appointed prime minister and generalissimo of the troops. A short time after she married the Czar Ivan to the young Proskovia-Soltikoff, whose beauty bore away the palm from a great number of rivals.

During the festivities of this marriage, the strelitzes made a second insurrection. The opinions of a sectary, named Abakum, who pretended that a hierarchy should not be permitted in the church of Christ, served as the pretext of their revolt: but its real cause was the jealousy of the Knes Kavanisky, their commander, who, having contributed to the elevation of Sophia, and seeing that she preferred Galitzin, resolved to avenge himself on this princess. Sophia withdrew with the two Czars her brothers, and the rest of her family, into the convent of the Trinity, a well fortified building, at twelve leagues distance from Moscow. When there, she negotiated with Kavanisky, who being imprudent enough to believe that he might present himself before the regent, was arrested on the road, and decapitated together with his son. Deprived of their chief, the strelitzes were easily brought back to repentance. The most mutinous were punished, and the rest pardoned.

A. D. 1687. During a long period the Khans of the country which we call the Crimea, and which the Greeks knew under the name of the Tauric-Kher-sónésus, had exacted from Russia an annual tribute of sixty thousand roubles. Sophia wishing to liberate herself from this disgraceful servitude, declared war against the Tartars of the Crimea, and Galitzin took the command of the numerous army which marched
against

against them. But the two campaigns which he made were not successful. On his return, he did not the less assume the haughty demeanour of a conqueror. The young Czar Peter, who had disapproved of the war, did not conceal the dissatisfaction and the contempt with which this insolent minister inspired him, and this last conspired with Sophia and the new chief of the strelitzes to have Peter massacred.

Peter, informed of this conspiracy, escaped once more to the convent of the Trinity. There he convoked the boyards, and all those who were attached to his family, and he very soon beheld himself surrounded by a great number of defenders. Sophia, who remained at Moscow with Ivan, made an effort to retain the strelitzes in her party; but they were already sick of her yoke, and almost all of them attached themselves to Peter.

The chief of the strelitzes perished by the punishment of the knout. Other conspirators had their heads cut off. Galitzin, for whom one of his relations made intercession, and who was beloved of the Czar Peter, was only deprived of his estates, and exiled to the environs of Archangel. The princess Sophia had her head shaved, and was shut up, for the remainder of her days, in a convent at Moscow.

A. D. 1689. Peter assumed the reins of government. His brother Ivan preserved the title of Czar; but although his name appeared in the public acts, this prince did not possess the least authority. He died in 1696.

The life of Peter I. is too well known for me to undertake here to retrace the events of it. Besides, this attempt would be foreign to my subject, which only permits me to take a slight review of those reigns which preceded that of Catharine II. Misinformed writers and notorious flatterers have depicted Peter as only a legislator and a hero: but they have given but half a representation of him. My

ardent love of truth obliges me to say, that the great qualities and the brilliant actions of this prince were sullied by failings, by violence, and by terrible crimes.

The weakness of his mother, who durst not contradict him, and the craftiness of the regent Sophia, who determined to keep him in a state of ignorance, were the causes that Peter I. passed a part of his youth with a set of debauched young people, whose example he was but too much inclined to follow. However, his affection for foreigners soon made him blush for his ignorance, and, without renouncing his pleasures, he learnt a little German and Dutch, and even something of the mathematics.

It was much about this time that he attached the Genoese Lefort to him, with whom he fell by chance acquainted at the house of the Danish envoy at Moscow, and who became in the end a baron and general of the Russian armies. The Czar found, between him and Lefort, so great a conformity of ideas and inclinations, that he made him the confident of all his projects, and always shewed the greatest deference to his advice. He even gave it him in charge to mollify and bring him back to reason, when he was in those fits of passion to which he was subject, and which, co-operating at times with the intoxication produced by strong liquors, rendered him outrageous. At those times Lefort only durst speak to him; and reproaching him with his intemperance and his madness, he went so far as to employ violence in order to check him. It was not however without danger that Lefort displayed a zeal so bold. Peter one time had almost stabbed him; but after his fury was over, he embraced Lefort and entreated his pardon.

Lefort had for some time borne arms in France and Holland, and still preserved a great inclination for the military life. He inspired the Czar with this inclination, who immediately formed a regiment of young

young boyards, the companions of his sports, and commenced himself by being drummer in that regiment, in order to give the example of subordination.

If Peter learnt from Lefort to delight in war, to chance alone he was indebted for the noble and happy idea of creating a navy in his states. While he was yet very young, he perceived, as he was walking in a village near Moscow, a sloop which a Dutchman, named Brandt, had constructed in the reign of Alexis Michælowitz. He was immediately anxious to discover why this sloop was so different from all the vessels which he had till then seen; and was informed, that it was in order that she might sail against the wind. This reply only augmented his curiosity. Brandt was immediately summoned, and the sloop, provided with masts and sails, received the young Czar, who, to his great surprise, beat to windward with Brandt on the river Yaoussa. Peter immediately ordered Brandt to build him a yacht, which was launched in the Moscowa in 1691; and shortly after the same Dutchman constructed, on the borders of lake Periloff, and under the inspection of the Czar, several small vessels which carried guns, and with which this prince exercised himself for some time.

A. D. 1697. The death of Brandt did not in the least degree abate the ardour of the Czar for his marine. He himself visited Holland some years afterwards; to learn the art of ship-building, and they still shew, in the village of Sardam, the little lodging which he occupied, when he laboured there as a common carpenter. From thence he passed into England; and when he was fully able to form a judgment of the nautical science of these two countries, he gave to his vessels a mixture of the English and Dutch naval architecture, which they have preserved since that period.

Before he returned to Russia, Peter had a desire to visit Germany. Whilst he was at Vienna, he learnt that the strelitzes and other malecontents were attempting

attempting to replace Sophia upon the throne. He flew immediately to Moscow; he found the rebels already vanquished by the troops who had remained faithful to him, and had only to glut his implacable vengeance..

It was in travelling through Ingria and in Carelia that Peter formed the project of taking possession of those provinces, that he might be enabled to maintain a fleet upon the Baltic. The youth of Charles XII. seemed to be favourable to this design. Peter hastened to form a league with the kings of Poland and Denmark against Sweden, and to commence a war which, during eighteen years, desolated the north of Europe. Charles XII. conquered very soon all those who had attacked him. He besieged the King of Denmark in Copenhagen, and obliged him to sue for peace. He dethroned the King of Poland, and would have dethroned the Czar, but the loss of a single battle tore from him the fruit of nine years success, and rendered him, during nine years more, the most wretched of monarchs.

Notwithstanding the innumerable losses of men and of money which this war cost the Czar, it was the means of realizing his hopes, as it procured him not only the conquest of Ingria and of Carelia, but the possession of Livonia, of Estonia, of the country of Viburgh, and of a considerable part of Finland. It likewise taught the Russians to fight with that rigid subordination and that ferocious intrepidity, which have rendered them since then the terror of the Ottomans and the plunderers of Poland.

The conqueror of the Swedes, Peter was soon afterwards that of the Turks, from whom he wrested the port of Azoph, on the sea of Zabacha; but they obliged him to restore it in the conclusion of the disastrous campaign of Pruth. More fortunate with the Persians, he conquered Derbent, and made himself master of the navigation and the commerce of the Caspian Sea.

By

By a treaty made at the commencement of his reign, the limits between Russia and China were fixed upon the shores of the Gorbitz, and the commerce of the Russians with the Chinese was carried on with fresh vigour.

During the whole time that the war was continued against Sweden, Peter I, did not lose sight of the reform and the establishments which he had commenced; his chief attention was directed to his navy. He had on the Baltic a fleet which gained several victories. He ordered canals to be dug, and among others that which joins the Caspian Sea to the Gulph of Finland. He constructed high-ways; he embellished several cities; he laid the foundation of Peterburgh in a little marshy island, and from the bosom of the waters there was almost immediately seen a superb city raising its head. He encouraged commerce, and opened new roads for it; he established several manufactures of arms, of stuffs, of pottery, and even of pins, for before his time the Russians did not possess the art of making them. He abolished the charge of patriarch; he diminished the number and the power of the monks; he instituted schools and academies; he composed a code of laws which, notwithstanding its imperfections, is very superior to those of Ivan IV. and of Alexis Michaelowitz. The repeated efforts of the conqueror of Narva were not the only obstacles to so many undertakings. Peter had to combat, in the very midst of his own states, the fury of superstition and the obstinate prejudices of a barbarous nation; but the resolute firmness of his character enabled him to brave them all.

Of all the innovations of the Czar, that which presented to him the greatest difficulties and cost him the most bloodshed, was the change in the mode of dress which he exacted of his subjects; a very useless and impolitic alteration. The Russians submitted with the utmost reluctance to assume the German habit and to suffer themselves to be shaved, and they revolted

revolted several times, to preserve their long robes and their beards. But Peter imagined, that in giving to his people the fashions of the other nations of Europe, he would also give them their manners, without foreseeing that he was probably going to inspire a taste for luxury, which he himself disliked. This prince was always very simply clothed, was at little expence for his household, remained but a quarter of an hour at table, and frequently laughed at his favourite Menzikoff, who, elevated to the rank of a prince from being a pastry-cook's boy, displayed the utmost stateliness, and would never dine without the sound of trumpets and cymbals.

Peter I. was the most violent, the most cruel of monarchs. He not only gave manual chastisement to courtiers, to generals, to the ministers who had committed any trivial offence, but was very frequently the executioner of the sentence of death which he had pronounced on the unfortunate victims.

His fury, it is true, was not always productive of such fatal effects; but whether it was that this prince had not actually the command of himself, or whether he imagined it was his duty to let his subjects know that nothing ought to resist his will, he sometimes permitted himself to commit actions which in another man would have passed for acts of lunacy.

One day, on his return from his travels, wishing to give a specimen of his abilities as a seaman, he employed himself in steering a little vessel upon Lake Ladoga, which is frequently stormy, and which became at this moment more agitated than usual. Peter was alarmed, and regained the shore: but provoked that the waves did not shew him greater respect, he sent in search of an executioner, and ordered him to punish the indocile lake with the knout.

And what are we to think of that continual farce in which Peter I. caused himself to be represented by the Knés Romodanoffsky, the most vulgar, the most brutal

brutal of Russians, whilst he himself condescended to perform the part of a subaltern? He had decorated Romodanoffsky with the title of Czar of Moscow. He rendered him publicly an account of his enterprises, and of his most important successes. All the petitions, all the memorials which were addressed to the sovereign, were presented to this phantom of a Czar, who secretly conveyed them to the council, and when those who made application did not obtain what they desired, and made complaint to Peter, he replied coldly, "That is no fault of mine: the Czar of Moscow is master."

The first insurrection, which was occasioned by the order given to all the Russians to leave off wearing beards, was succeeded by the execution of near eight thousand persons. In order to contain so vast a number of victims, the Czar made choice of a large space of ground near his palace of Præobraginsko, at three verstes distance from Moscow. This place was surrounded with palisades, through which might be easily seen what was passing within; and after several blocks and logs had been placed, the miserable wretches destined to lose their lives were conducted to them.

A. D. 1720. Several executioners were immediately employed in chopping off heads. Peter himself, with a hatchet in his hand, set the example to the executioners. A child about twelve years old, came and placed his head upon the block of the Czar. This prince, instead of striking the child, took him by the arm and pushed him back. The lad, without speaking a single word, went and laid his head upon another block. The Czar, who perceived him, advanced towards him, raised him, and again drove him away. An instant after the child came back, and again placed himself under the axe. The Czar then demanded in a passion, why he persisted in attempting to have his head cut off? "Thou hast cut off that of my father, that of my brother, and those

"those of all my relations, who were not more culpable than I am," replied the child, why then wilt thou not cut off mine?" Peter made no reply, but ordered the child to be put out of the enclosure, threw down his hatchet and went away.

This prince was but seldom struck so forcibly with a sense of his faults as upon this occasion. Always thirsting for vengeance, he added perfidy to the most atrocious inhumanity. The tragical end of his own son affords a melancholy proof of this. The only known fault laid to the charge of Alexis, was having endeavoured to escape from the animosity of his father, and his leaving Russia without the permission of this monarch. The Czar got information that Alexis was in concealment at Naples. He immediately dispatched Tolstói, the most infamous of his ministers, who, by the influence of money and of flattery, gaining over the mistress who had accompanied the prince in his flight, persuaded this unfortunate young man to return to his father. The Czar deceived at the same time the Emperor of Germany and the King of Naples, under whose protection his son had placed himself, and who had made intercession in his behalf. Notwithstanding his solemn promise to pardon him, he had him tried as the most abandoned villain and caused him to be put to death. And yet, oh shameful! to the disgrace of history, many celebrated writers have attempted to justify this barbarity.

When M. Printz, the Prussian ambassador, resided at the court of Peter I, that prince invited him to a magnificent repast, and after having drank, according to his custom, a great deal of wine and brandy, he ordered to be brought out of the prisons of Petersburg twenty of the strelitzes. After this, at every bumper, he cut off the head of one of these wretched creatures. He proposed to the Prussian ambassador to make trial of his skill upon them, but the ambassador did not fail to reject this barbarous proposal. What
a spec-

a spectacle! to behold a tyrant who, in the midst of his intemperate orgies, could amuse himself with cutting off the heads of twenty of his unfortunate subjects, whilst his sneaking courtiers got drunk with him, and applauded the ferocity of his sanguinary sports.

Endowed with a fine figure and of a superior mind, invested with supreme power and passionately fond of women, Peter I. was not beloved of one, or at least he was deceived by all those to whom he attached himself. Whilst he was yet very young he married Eudoxia Lapoukin, who was mother of the unfortunate Alexis. A short time after he had married Eudoxia, the Czar became violently in love with Anne Moëns, a pretty Fleming, daughter of a beer-brewer who was settled at Moscow.

Eudoxia appeared at first out of humour that her husband had forsaken her, but she very soon consoled herself with a young boyard, named Kleboff; and to her lover's misfortune and her own, she did not employ mystery sufficient in her amours. The Czar, who thought he might himself be inconstant with impunity, did not chuse the same conduct to be pursued with regard to him. He shut up the Czarina in a cloister, and afterwards solemnly repudiated her. His revenge on Kleboff was more cruel: he caused him to be impaled; and it is asserted as a fact that this unfortunate being remained in this situation more than twenty-four hours before he expired.

The Czar was eager to go and enjoy this horrible spectacle. He did more; he ascended the pilaster of mason-work upon which the stake was fixed, and exhorted the dying man to confess the facts which he had till then refused to acknowledge. "Approach, that thou mayest hear me more distinctly," replied Kleboff. The Czar having advanced towards him, Kleboff paused an instant to recover strength, and then said to him—"Tyrant, the most execrable which hell ever sent forth, supposing that which thou im-
"putest

"putest to me to be true, dost thou believe that, not having confessed it before my punishment, and when I had still the hope of obtaining pardon by that avowal, dost thou believe, I say, that I could be such an idiot, so weak, or such a coward as to satisfy thee, now that it is out of thy power to give me my life? Go, horrible monster," added he, spitting in his face, "take thyself away."

The Czar thought seriously of placing Anne Moëns upon the throne. This young woman, who regarded as the greatest of misfortunes the love with which she had inspired her master, and who only yielded to him from fear, found means dextrously to elude his offers of marriage. Peter continued however to see her; but very soon, whether it was that the coldness which he found in her disgusted him, or whether his natural inconstancy led him elsewhere, he allowed her to marry a lover less illustrious, with whom she had for a long time carried on an intrigue.

It is well known with what a passion Peter was inspired for a young Livonian who, after having been married to a Swedish dragoon, and successively the mistress of Generals Bauer, Scheremetoff and Menzikoff, became Empress of Russia, under the name of Catharine I.

Although Catharine was indebted for every thing to the Czar who had seated her upon the throne, she did not always preserve that faith to him which he had a title to expect. It was but seldom, on the contrary, that she did not repay the infidelities of her husband with equal inconstancy, but she was careful to keep them more secret.

Catharine had chosen for chamberlain the young Moëns de la Croix, whose sister, Madam Balk, was about her person, and had, as I have already said, disdained the hand of the Emperor. Moëns was a handsome man; it was not long before he made a powerful impression on the heart of the Empress, and her passion was quickly perceived by Jagouschinsky, who

who at that time possessed the entire confidence of the Czar, and who had the cruelty to impart this discovery to his master. All the jealousy of Peter was instantly aroused. He swore to avenge himself, but he resolved before hand that he would be an eye-witness of the treachery of Catharine. He pretended to quit Petersburg with a design to pass some days in one of his country palaces, and secretly returned to the winter palace; he afterwards sent a page, on whom he could rely, to carry his compliments to the Empress, and to tell her that he was at Douпка, some leagues from the capital.

The page, who had received orders to take notice of all that passed, was not long in returning to confirm the suspicions of the Czar, who immediately hastened to Catharine, and surprised her in the arms of her lover. It was two hours after midnight, and Madam Balk was watching at some distance from the apartment of the Empress. Peter, in a rage, overthrew a page whom he met in his way, and struck Catharine with his cane, but did not say a word either to Moëns or to Madam Balk, resolving to punish them in a more severe manner than with a few strokes of a cane.

On leaving Catharine's apartment, Peter, still in a transport of fury, entered hastily into the chamber where Prince Repnin was sleeping, who, awakened in a hurry, and seeing the Czar, gave himself up for lost. "Get up," said the Czar to him, "and listen to me; thou hast no occasion to dress thyself." Repnin arose trembling. Peter related to him what had just passed, and added: "I am resolved to have the Empress's head cut off as soon as it is day." "You are offended, and you are absolute master," replied Repnin, "but permit me, with the utmost deference, to make an observation to you.—Why should you divulge the disgraceful adventure which irritates you? You have been obliged to destroy the firelitzes. Almost every year of your reign

has been marked with bloody executions. You have conceived it your duty to condemn your own son to death. If you cut off the head of your wife, you will fully for ever the glory of your name. Europe will regard you as a prince who thirsts for the blood of his people, and of all who approach him. Avenge the injury done you: let Moëns perish by the sword of justice; but with regard to the Empress, you must rid yourself of her in a manner at which your glory will have no reason to blush.

During this address Peter was violently agitated. He fixed his looks on Repnin for a long time, and left the chamber without uttering a syllable. The destruction of Moëns was already determined. He was arrested, as was likewise Madam Balk. They were both shut up in the winter palace, in an apartment into which no person entered but the Emperor himself, who carried them their provisions. At the same time a report was spread, that the brother and sister had permitted themselves to be corrupted by the enemies of the state, in hopes of gaining over the Empress, in the face of the Czar, to oppose the interests of Russia.

Moëns was interrogated by this prince in the presence of General Ufchakoff, and, after having confessed every thing required of him, had his head cut off. A. D. 1724.

Madame Balk, his sister, received the knout, and it is asserted that the Czar himself inflicted the punishment: after this she was banished to Siberia.

Moëns walked to the place of execution with the utmost fortitude. He always wore a bracelet of diamonds, in which was a miniature portrait of Catherine; but as it had not been discovered when he was arrested, he found means to conceal it under his garter, and when upon the scaffold he confided this secret to the Lutheran priest who accompanied him, and under favour of his cloak slipped the

the bracelet into his hand to restore it to the Empress.

The Czar was a witness of the punishment of Moëns, which he beheld from one of the windows of the Senate-house. After the execution he ascended the scaffold, took the head of Moëns by the hair, and expressed in a manner brutally energetic, how completely he had satisfied his vengeance. The same day this prince had the cruelty to convey Catharine in an open carriage to the stake to which the head of this unfortunate wretch was nailed. Catharine was sufficiently mistress of herself not to change countenance at sight of this horrible spectacle, but it is said, that, on returning to her apartment, she shed a torrent of tears.

From that period Peter saw Catharine no more except in public. He threw into the fire the will by which he had named this princess heiress of the throne, and he did not even conceal the design which he had formed to revenge himself still farther upon her. But the affection which he had for his two daughters, and the desire of seeing at least one of them married before the disgrace of their mother, made him suspend the last strokes which he intended should fall on the head of his consort.

The Duke of Holstein, dissatisfied that, on the death of Charles XII. the Swedes had not chosen him king, went into Russia, and solicited the Czar to grant him the hand of the Princess Anna Petrowna. The Czar appeared at first averse to this alliance; but after the adventure of Catharine and Moëns gave his consent immediately.

Catharine, however, who was not ignorant of the fate which her husband was preparing for her, did not conceive it her duty to wait for it. From the moment that she had passed from the arms of Menzikoff into those of his master, she and the favourite had mutually promised to stand by each other, and in effect it has been seen that, by turns, the credit

of the one preserved to the other the good graces of the Czar. When they were both at the same time on the brink of disgrace, they used their endeavours still more successfully in order to avoid it. The Czar died very suddenly, and it was universally believed in Russia that his death had been hastened. However this may be, Menzikoff had taken his measures so effectually, that when the senate and the nobles were assembled to transmit the crown to him who was the legitimate heir of it, the son of the unfortunate Alexis, he obliged them to acknowledge Catharine I. as the sovereign of all the Russias.

A. D. 1725. The first days of the reign of Catharine I. were agreeable to the people, because she diminished taxes, and because they imagined that they saw a mild government succeeding to the extreme severity of the Czar's despotism. Menzikoff at first shared with the Empress the supreme power which he had acquired for her; and it is well worthy of observation, that in an age, with justice styled the age of illumination, these two personages placed at the head of the most extensive empire of the world, could neither read nor write. The adroit and perfidious Tolstoj directed almost all the affairs of the Russian cabinet.

But Catharine who, during the life of Peter I. had displayed so much activity, courage, and ardor for great enterprizes, very soon disdained all business, and abandoned herself entirely to luxury and pleasure. She assumed two or three favorites at once, one of whom was the young Prince Sapieha, a Polonese, and the other a Livonian gentleman, named Lœwenwolden. These two rivals made it their study to please her equally, and received in their turns proofs of her tenderness, without permitting jealousy to interrupt their happiness.

It was at this time, that all at once a brother of Catharine's arrived at Petersburg, whom she caused to take the name of Count Skawronsky. He brought with

with him his wife and three children ; and what made it the more surprising was, that it had been always believed that the Empress did not know one of her relations.

This princess fulfilled one of the intentions of Peter I. in marrying the princess Anne, her eldest daughter, to the Duke of Holstein. But it is said, that as she knew the Duke of Holstein was not likely to have any heirs, she carried her maternal complaisance so far as to counsel her daughter to console herself for the coldness of the Duke with Colonel Bruhmer, a young Swede attached to this prince ; and it appears certain that Anne followed the advice of her mother.

The Duke of Holstein had a minister named Bassewitz, an intriguing and covetous man, who incessantly urged his master to profit by his alliance with the Empress, and to take possession of part of the authority. Menzikoff, who perceived this, became jealous of the Duke of Holstein, which very soon broke out into an open rupture. The Duke of Holstein and his minister were not the sole enemies of Menzikoff. He had a great number of implacable and secret foes, among whom was Ostermann, the most assiduous of his flatterers.

Ostermann, born in Westphalia, the son of a Lutheran priest, had gained the confidence of Peter I. and had arrived at the dignity of Vice-chancellor ; but although he had had sufficient time to accustom himself to Russian manners, he could not forgive Menzikoff for speaking always to him with a contemptuous haughtiness, and so frequently threatening him with the knout and Siberia. Resolved to avenge himself, he saw that the only means of ruining the favourite, was to engage him to hazard some imprudent step. Upon this occasion, he addressed himself to Count Rabutin, minister of the court of Vienna, and told him, that if he would second his views, he would undertake to place the young Grand-duke, son of

Alexis, and nephew of the Emperor of Germany, upon the throne, as it was only necessary to gain over Menzikoff, by promising to marry one of his daughters to the Grand-duke. Austrian pride seemed for a while to hesitate: but to what will not the pride of the ambitious stoop?

Emboldened by the concurrence of the court of Vienna, Ostermann flew to Menzikoff, and advised him to cause the young Grand-duke to be declared the heir of the empire, in order to prevent the Duke of Holstein's ascending the throne, upon the death of the Czarina. He at the same time flattered the favourite with the prospect of marrying his daughter to the Grand-duke, and assured him that the House of Austria would consent to this alliance. Ambition and hatred conspired to mislead Menzikoff. Ostermann persuaded him to do every thing he desired. Upon this, the favourite availed himself of the long ascendancy which he had gained over the mind of the Empress, and of the fear with which he inspired her, to prompt her to declare, to the detriment of her own children, the Grand-duke heir of the throne.

As soon as the courtiers, who had reason to dread the vengeance of the son of Alexis, were made acquainted with the resolution of the Czarina, they united themselves with the Duke of Holstein to prevent its effects. The heads of this party were Tolstoi, Boutourlin, and the Count de Vier, a Portuguese adventurer, become minister of the police in Russia, and brother-in-law of Menzikoff, in spite of Menzikoff himself.

Tolstoi had the boldness to represent to Catharine the danger which she was incurring for herself and her children, by nominating the Grand-duke for her successor, and permitting him to espouse the daughter of Menzikoff. He did more; he counselled her to disgrace the favourite. Catharine hesitated, promised nothing, and observed silence to Menzikoff respecting

respecting what Tolstoi had said to her. However, Menzikoff, faithfully served by his spies, learnt, not only what had passed with the Czarina, but also the plots which were going forward in the secret interviews Tolstoi had with the Duke of Holstein, at the house of a Piedmontese, named the Count Santi.

A few days after the step which Tolstoi had taken, Catharine being ill, and having ordered Menzikoff to be summoned to her bed-side, informed him in the presence of the Dutchess of Holstein, her eldest daughter, it was her desire that this princess should succeed her; and she conjured him in the name of their ancient friendship to express towards her daughter the same zeal which he had always shewn for herself. Menzikoff made a vow to this effect; but, on quitting the Czarina, he went in search of Rabutin and Ostermann, and, excited by their counsels, resolved to proceed in a manner totally different from what he had just promised. There was no time to be lost. The physician of Catharine had assured Menzikoff that she had but two days more to live.

Ambition had at that time conducted to Peterburgh the young prince of Holstein-Eutin, who had a desire to espouse the Princess Elizabeth; and love, in concert with ambition, had secured to him the heart of this princess. But I know not by what policy their union was opposed. It has been thought it was dangerous to the safety of Russia, that the two daughters of the Czar should be married in Germany. Menzikoff knew how to turn to account these obstacles, and the passion of Elizabeth for the Prince of Holstein-Eutin. The Czarina, who, as I have already observed, could not write, made use of the hand of the Princess Elizabeth for those dispatches which required her signature. Menzikoff went to this young princess, and protested to her upon the faith of his oath, that she should see the obstacles which retarded her marriage immediately vanish, if she would sign
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the order to arrest Tolstoj and his accomplices. Elizabeth signed it; and in less than an hour, Tolstoj, Boutourlin, the Portuguese Vier, the Piedmontese Santi, and several of their partisans, were shut up in the fortress of Petersburg.

Menzikoff, Ostermann, Rabutin, and Bassewitz, passed afterwards a part of the night in fabricating a will, in which Catharine I. named for her successor the young Grand-duke. This princess died the same night. The will made in her name, and of which, without doubt, she had not the least knowledge, was presented to the senate, and the Grand-duke was proclaimed Emperor of Russia under the title of Peter II.

A. D. 1727. Peter II. ascended the throne at the age of thirteen. His youth did not permit him to assume the reins of government. Menzikoff took upon himself to govern for him; and, that none of the courtiers might approach him but those in whom he himself placed some confidence, he caused him to be lodged in his own palace. The council of regency, named by the will of Catharine I. assembled but once. The Duke and Dutchess of Holstein were obliged to retire to Kiel, the capital of their dutchy. Menzikoff afterwards affianced his daughter to Peter II. and the Count Rabutin signed the contract in the name of the Emperor Charles VI.

But the good fortune of Menzikoff had come to its termination. Whilst the whole empire was groaning under the weight of his despotism, the young Czar began to grow displeased with his insolent tutor. Ostermann was one of the first to perceive this; and having communicated his observations to Chancellor Goloffkin, and to the princes Galitzin and Dolgorouky, he engaged the first to take advantage of an excursion into the country, to persuade the Czar to throw off the tyranny of Menzikoff. The Czar was already sufficiently disposed to do so. Menzikoff who, in the morning, had quitted Petersburg

burgh the sovereign lord of Russia, re-entered that city in the evening, only to behold himself loaded with irons, and exiled into Siberia. This blow was terrible, but he met it with courage. The moment of his disgrace was the only one in which he shewed himself worthy of the station which he had occupied. He afforded a striking proof, like many others, that it is more easy to support the frowns of fortune than her favours.

The Dolgoroukies very soon succeeded Menzikoff with the Czar, and laid a plan to make him marry a princess of their family. It did not seem very easy to execute this project, as Peter II. had a great affection for his aunt Elizabeth, who, although captivated with another lover, received with great complaisance the homage of the young sovereign. Ivan Dolgorouky made the young Czar alter his sentiments, by informing him that the Princess Elizabeth carried on an amorous intrigue with a soldier of the Préobraginsky guards. A short time after the Czar fell in love with Catharine Dolgorouky, and betrothed himself to her, but had not time to consummate his marriage. The day before he was to have received the nuptial benediction, he was attacked with the small-pox, and fell a victim to it. A. D. 1730.

Hardly were the eyes of Peter II. closed, when the senate, the ministers, the nobles, and the deputies of the people of Moscow, assembled in the Kremlin; and, in consequence of the insinuations of Ostermann, elected as sovereign the Dutchess of Courland, second daughter of the Czar Ivan, and niece of Peter I. There were no questions started respecting the son of the Dutchess of Holstein, nor of the Princess Elizabeth his aunt; or at least they were only mentioned to recal to mind, that being the issue of a double adultery, both the one and the other ought to be for ever excluded from the throne.

The Prince Wassili-Lukowitz-Dolgorouky, who had been the favoured lover of Anne Ivanowna, and who

who without doubt hoped to become so again, was charged to go and inform her the Russians had just made choice of her for their empress. This princess, who was then at Mittau, set out immediately for Moscow. She was followed thither a short time after by Biren, whom they had made her promise not to allow to come thither.

Anne no more recollected the promise which she had made to keep her favourite at a distance, than the conditions on which she had accepted the empire, and which limited her power. By the counsels of Jagouzhinsky and of Prince Troubetzkoï, she caused herself to be acknowledged sovereign of all the Russians. However, she appeared to be seated on the throne merely to permit herself to be governed, and Biren governed her only to abandon himself to all the fury of hatred. The Dolgorouky family became his first victims. Exiled at first to the neighbourhood of Tobolsk, and afterwards recalled, two of these princes perished on the wheel, two were quartered, three others had their heads cut off, and the rest of this family, but a short while before so high in power, were stripped of every thing and banished far from Moscow. Almost all the friends of the Dolgoroukies fell beneath the axe of the executioner, or were dragged to the frozen deserts of Siberia. Biren caused to perish, by cruel punishments, more than eleven thousand persons, and exiled twice as many. We are assured that the Empress frequently implored him on her knees to be less rigorous, but neither the prayers nor the tears of this princess had power to soften him. In a word, the haughtiness and the implacable cruelty of Biren, obliterated the haughtiness and the cruelty of Menzikoff. Notwithstanding, Anne obliged the Courlanders to name for their sovereign, her barbarous favourite; and at the very moment he was shedding torrents of blood, the Russian courtiers and foreign ministers, were lavishing on him the most contemptible flattery.

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The evils which were desolating the interior of Russia did not prevent her armies from extending her power abroad. They placed the Elector of Saxony, Augustus III. upon the throne of Warsaw, and constrained Stanislaus Leczinsky to renounce, for the second time, the dangerous preference which the Poles had granted him. Commanded by the celebrated Marechal Munich, they succoured the emperor Charles VI. and vanquished the Ottomans and the Tartars of the Crimea. It was then, in the school of Munich and of victory, that Lœwendalh formed himself, who afterwards entered into the French service, and immortalised his name by the capture of Bergen-op-zoom.

A. D. 1739. A short time after her accession to the throne, Anne had summoned to court her niece, the daughter of the Dutchess of Mecklenburgh, and, acknowledging her as successor to the throne, had given her her own name; and married her to Anthony-Ulric, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburgh. From this marriage sprung a prince named Ivan, who was proclaimed Grand-duke of Russia. Some months after, Anne was attacked by the malady which brought her to the grave. But, before her death, she was made to sign a will, by which, excluding the Dutchess of Brunswick from the succession, she left the throne to Ivan, and the regency to Biren. The crafty Ostermann, who, in concert with the favourite, had fabricated this writing, drew up at the same time a petition in the name of the divers orders of the state, to entreat Biren to accept the office of regent, which his ambition was enjoying in advance; and perhaps the world will have some difficulty in believing, that notwithstanding what has been just related, the principal members of the clergy, the nobles, the ministers, the Russian senators, were dastardly enough to sign this request.

The title which Biren had just acquired only served to increase his haughtiness and his despotism.

Far

Far from paying any respect to Duke Anthony-Ulric of Brunswick, father of the young Czar, he obliged him to resign all his offices. He dismissed in the same way all those who had given him any offence. He gave a glimpse of the project which he had in view of making the throne pass into his own family, by marrying his son to the Princess Elizabeth, and his daughter to the young Duke of Holstein. Munich, who was one of those to whom Birén owed his elevation to the regency, was discontented that he did not share the authority. Upon this, he determined to restore to the Duke and Dutchess of Brunswick the rights of which he had been a means of depriving them. The proposal, which he was not long in making to them, was accepted with transport. One night that Munich had supped with the regent, and for some time conversed familiarly with him, he retired and paid a visit to the winter palace, which the young emperor and his relations occupied; and after having engaged the Dutchess of Brunswick to gain over to her party the officers, and the hundred and forty soldiers who kept guard around the Czar, he returned to the house of the regent, whom he caused to be arrested by a detachment of twenty men, commanded by the aid-de-camp Manstein.

The two brothers of the regent, General Bismarck his brother-in-law, and Bestuscheff, the very life of his counsels, were also arrested. Birén, imprisoned in Schlusfelburgh, only remained there till his trial was instituted, after which he was conducted to Siberia; a chastisement without doubt too lenient for a monster who, during nine years, had every day multiplied the number of his victims, and had spread terror over Russia by his violence and rapacity.

The Dutchess of Brunswick proclaimed herself Grand-dutchess and regent, and named Duke Anthony-Ulric, her husband, generalissimo of the forces. Munich received the place of prime-minister. But Ostermann, who was a secret enemy of Munich,
very

very soon raised a cabal against him, and gave the regent to understand that the mareschal was deficient in that knowledge which was requisite for conducting foreign affairs, and even for the interior administration. These two departments were taken from Munich. Imprudent ingratitude ! Munich retired, and his retreat prepared the downfall of the regent.

One of the most remarkable events during the regency of the Dutcheſs of Brunswick was the arrival of an ambaffador of Thamas-Kouli-Khan at Moscow. After having usurped the throne of the Sophis, and conquered the empire of the Mogul, Thamas-Kouli-Khan, who had heard the beauty of the princess Elizabeth highly celebrated, sent to demand her in marriage, promising to introduce the Greek religion into Persia. His ambaffador was accompanied by sixteen thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannon. But this corps was persuaded to stop in the neighbourhood of Kislar, upon the shores of the Terek, and the ambaffador made his entrance into Moscow with a suite of only three thousand persons on horseback. He presented to the regent, on the part of the Schah, fourteen elephants and a great variety of precious stones, among which there were some very large diamonds. The presents were accepted, and the proposals of marriage rejected.

Before the death of the Empress Anne, the Dutcheſs of Brunswick had conceived a violent passion for Count Lynar, the Saxon minister at Peterſburgh. The Empress, who was informed of this, entreated Augustus III. to recal Lynar. But, as soon as the dutcheſs came to the regency, Lynar again made his appearance in Russia. Assisted by Julia de Mengden, her favourite, the regent abandoned herself entirely to her passion for Lynar, and neglected the most important affairs. Anthony-Ulric perceived the misconduct of his wife ; he reproached her with it, and very soon a violent rupture ensued between this couple.

The

The Russian ministers did not agree with each other any better than the regent and her husband. Ostermann dreaded Goloffkin, who employed his endeavours to shake the credit, and to thwart the projects of Ostermann. The Czar Ivan, still in his cradle, seemed to be forgotten even by his parents. What a moment for those ambitious men who desired a revolution! They did not fail to take advantage of it.

A. D. 1741. The weak, bigotted and voluptuous Elizabeth was not at all calculated to form a conspiracy to put herself in possession of the inheritance of Peter I. her father. Abandoned to the obscure intrigues of gallantry, or rather of debauchery, her only happiness consisted in this disgraceful commerce. But the ambition of those who surrounded her, succeeded so far as to oblige her to lend her name to their projects. A surgeon, of French extraction, named Lestoc, undertook to place her upon the throne, and made good his point.

Elizabeth had conciliated the affection of the regiments of guards, because she usually treated them with great affability and familiarity: this however was not sufficient. It was necessary to employ money in order to excite them to revolt and to proclaim her empress. Lestoc made application to La Chetardie, the French ambassador: La Chetardie, whose sole ambition was to see a princess on the throne who would become an ally of France and deprive Maria-Theresa of the assistance of Russia, gave to Lestoc, not only all the money for which he had occasion, but advice likewise, which was equally necessary to him. They gained over at first thirty of the grenadiers of the Préobraginsky regiment; and the execution of the project was fixed for the feast of the benediction of the waters, because on that day the troops are accustomed to assemble on the banks of the Neva. But the indiscretion of Lestoc did not permit him to wait till that epoch. This petulant conspirator very soon

soon discovered both his correspondence with La Chétardie, and the steps he had taken to secure the guards.

The regent got information from all quarters that conspiracies were forming against her and against the emperor her son. Instead of keeping a watchful eye over the authors of them, she contented herself with mentioning the subject to Elizabeth, who shedding tears, and assuming the appearance of the utmost ingenuousness, assured her of her own innocence and of that of Lestoc.

Scarcely had Elizabeth taken leave when Ostermann, the Marquis of Botta, minister from the court of Vienna, and Duke Anthony-Ulric represented to the regent that she was standing on the brink of a precipice, and that she had not a moment to lose in order to avoid it. But indolence and a sort of fatality hurried her forward. Duke Anthony-Ulric having informed her that he was going to give orders to arrest the conspirators: "By no means," replied she, "Elizabeth swears that she has not formed any conspiracy, and her tears give proof that she is sincere." What vouchers! Had the regent known her sex a little better, she would have understood that the tears of a woman are not always a testimony of her sincerity.

Lestoc knowing that suspicions were entertained of his project, and wishing to hasten the execution of it, conveyed to Elizabeth a card, on which he had delineated the portrait of that princess with the imperial crown, and upon the reverse she was represented with a veil, and surrounded with wheels and gibbets. "Make choice of the one or of the other, madam," said he to her. From this moment the resolution of Elizabeth appeared to have become fixed. However in the evening Lestoc and the Count Woronzoff had much difficulty to drag her from an image of the Virgin, before which she was prostrated on her knees. They caused her to mount a carriage, and conducted her

her at first to the barracks of the Préobraginsky regiment, where the thirty soldiers of her party were employing their exertions to corrupt their comrades. Money very soon gained to the number of three hundred of them, who took the oath of fidelity to the princess. She placed herself at their head and repaired to the winter palace. On the approach of this troop, the drum being just on the point of beating the alarm, Lestoc took a knife and split the head of it. A detachment of grenadiers was ordered to carry off the regent and her husband, and to convey them to Schlusfelburgh. Some other grenadiers entered the apartment of the young emperor, whom they found asleep. Innocence and the charms of infancy had some power over these ferocious men. They surrounded the cradle of Ivan in silence, and respectfully waited his awakening. When they afterwards carried this child to Elizabeth, she took him in her arms and caressed him. Afterwards seeing him smile at the noise of the acclamations which were resounding at the gates of the palace, she could not help exclaiming: "Unfortunate child! thou knowest not, alas! " that the sounds which thou hearest are the cries of " joy of those who are precipitating thee from the " throne."

On re-entering her palace, Elizabeth gave orders to arrest Marechal Munich, Ostermann, Goloffkin, and some officers attached to the regency. The first were afterwards condemned to lose their lives, but the empress contented herself with sending them into exile.

However, as soon as the young Czar Ivan, his mother and the rest of his family were imprisoned in Schlusfelburgh, the senate and the nobles were convoked, the troops assembled, and Elizabeth was solemnly proclaimed empress.

This princess did not overlook those who had given their assistance towards a revolution so favourable to her. She lavished rewards on them, and ennobled all

all the grenadiers of the Préobraginsky regiment, a dangerous generosity which made an insolent soldiery understand but too well the advantages which arise from presuming to make traffic of a throne, and to betray the rulers whom it was their duty to defend.

BOOK II.

Account of the first Years of the Reign of Elizabeth—Character of that Princess and of her Favourites—She nominates for her Successor the young Duke Charles Peter Ulric of Holstein-Gottorp, who reigned afterwards under the Name of Peter III.—Marriage of this Prince with Sophia-Augusta d'Anhalt Zerbst, who assumes the Name of Catharine Alexiewna—The Chamberlain Soltikoff becomes the Favourite of this Princess—Birth of Paul Petrowitz—Poniatowsky succeeds to Soltikoff—Intrigues of Bestusheff and his Exile—Death of Elizabeth.

A. D. **T**HE prompt success of the last conspiracies 1742. of which I have presented a sketch, could not but be productive of new events. The Marquis de Botta, minister from Vienna saw, with mortification, France bearing away from Austria the support of Russia, and formed the design of bringing about another revolution, to restore to his court the ascendancy which it had just lost. It was not a difficult matter for him to find abettors in a country where the divers pretenders to the throne have always a party of malecontents ready to enlist under their banner.

The Marquis de Botta made application at first to Madame Lapoukin, who was looked upon as the most beautiful woman of her age, and who mourned

over the exile of her lover Lewœnwolde. Madame Lapoukin had the address to persuade her husband to enter into the conspiracy with her; and they very soon reckoned among their partisans, the chamberlain Lillensfeld, the sister of the vice-chancellor Golloffkin, and some other persons of considerable importance. The departure of the Marquis de Botta for Berlin did not abate the ardor of the conspirators; on the contrary this minister had the art of inspiring them with fresh animation, by assuring them that the King of Prussia desired no less than the Queen of Hungary to see Elizabeth precipitated from the throne.

However the conspirators did not put one project into execution, because they had not a proper leader to direct them, and to strike the first blow. They were discovered; they received the knout, had their tongues cut, and were sent to indulge unavailing regret in the deserts of Siberia.

Maria-Theresa made haste to declare that she had no part in the conspiracies of her minister Botta, and in order to prove it, she recalled him from Berlin, and had the policy to order him to be imprisoned for some time in a fortress. The Grand-chancellor of Russia was almost immediately gained over and reconciled the two sovereigns, but Elizabeth never forgave the King of Prussia for the approbation which it is said he gave to the conspiracy of Botta.

Elizabeth resembled the beautiful Catharine her mother, and was still more beautiful. She possessed a tall and admirably proportioned figure, and although her features were rather large, her physiomy notwithstanding had a sweetness inexpressible, which she still heightened by the graces of a conversation frequently lively and almost constantly winning. But if she rivalled her mother in those advantages which lend so great a charm to the society of women, if she surpassed her in her unbounded love of pleasure, she was far from possessing like her that greatness of soul which

which gives to those who are partakers of it, an irresistible ascendancy over all that surrounds them. Instead of possessing the art of ruling over others, Elizabeth uniformly allowed herself to be governed, and this weakness was the primary cause of the misfortunes of her successor.

In order the better to live above the reach of dependence, Elizabeth constantly refused to take a husband, with whom she must have divided the empire; but she did not the less experience the delights of love, and even the sweetness of maternal affection; and as she added to her other weaknesses that of being a devotee, Alexis, Gregoriewitsch Razoumoffky, her master of the buck-hounds, found means to persuade her to give him her hand privately. The Counts Tarrakanoff and their sister were the fruits of this clandestine marriage. Razoumoffky was not however the only lover of Elizabeth; she had occasion frequently to change her favourite; but unfaithful in her pleasures, and constant in her tenderness, she always preserved towards Razoumoffky, that sentiment which had induced her to descend so low as to him, when he was only a grenadier in a regiment of guards.

To her inclination for voluptuousness, Elizabeth added besides a fondness for good cheer, and afterwards abandoned herself to the love of wine. Feasts, balls, masquerades, the most puerile amusements diverted her attention from business, and filled up those days which she had promised to employ for the good of the empire.

Count Ivan Ivanowitz Schouwaloff was one of the favourites of Elizabeth, but he made no other use of his credit than to augment his riches, which were already immense, and he left to his cousin Peter Schouwaloff the rage for intrigue. The artful flatterer of the Empress, Ivan Schouwaloff, never spoke to her but of humanity and glory. He extorted from her by this method endless donations, and he inspired her

with the desire of having a history of the reign of Peter I. written, a desire which he likewise found means to turn to his own profit, by attracting the praises of Voltaire.

But he who, without being the lover of Elizabeth, possessed, during a long time, the greatest ascendancy over her mind, was the Grand-chancellor Alexis Bestuscheff-Riumin, the boldest and most intelligent man in all Russia. He governed at once the Empress, the favourites, the ministers. He regulated alone, so to speak, all the exterior as well as the interior of the empire.

Bestuscheff had applied himself to business and to intrigue for more than forty years. After having accompanied the Russian ambassador to the congress of Utrecht, he had perfected himself in England, in the school of the ministers of George I. On his return to Petersburg, he had been named minister to the court of Stockholm, afterwards to that of Copenhagen. He became after this attached to Anna Ivanowna, Dutchess of Courland, who, on ascending the throne, sent him to Hamburgh, in quality of envoy extraordinary to the circle of Lower Saxony. Devoted to the ferocious Biren, he was arrested with him, but had sufficient skill and good fortune to escape sharing his exile. When Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, Lestoc presented Bestuscheff to her, who, soon afterwards, elevated to the dignity of Grand-chancellor, employed his credit to repay Lestoc with the blackest ingratitude.

Bestuscheff was not only jealous of the favour of Lestoc, but hated in him the friend of France. The departure of La Chetardie had left at the court of Petersburg an extensive field for the intrigues of Austria and of England, and his return could not arrest their efforts. Bestuscheff found means to persuade Elizabeth that the French ambassador was returned only to raise a cabal against her. He had the infamous audacity to procure the assassination of
a courier

a courier of this minister, and putting himself in possession of his cyphered dispatches, which he interpreted according to his own fancy, he went to the Empress and presented them, assuring her that they were filled with calumnies and dangerous plots. Elizabeth believed it, and gave orders to La Chetardie to withdraw himself. He took his departure immediately. Informed of the assassination of his courier, he apprehended that a similar attack might be made upon himself. He was not mistaken. Before he reached the frontiers of Russia, he was assailed by the satellites of Bestusheff, who several times fired at him, and killed a servant behind his carriage.

A. D. 1742. Some time after Bestusheff succeeded in inspiring the Empress with suspicions of Lestoc. The unhappy Lestoc was arrested, stripped of all his possessions, and exiled to a village in the province of Archangel. Thus the two men who had contributed most to raise Elizabeth to empire, were, upon a slight suspicion, sacrificed by her: a melancholy example of those who reckon upon the gratitude of princes!

However, Elizabeth wishing to extinguish in the family of Anne Ivanowna the hopes of re-ascending the throne, nominated for her successor Charles-Peter-Ulric, son of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and of Anne, daughter of Peter I.; and having invited him to Peterburgh in 1742, made him abjure Lutheranism for the Greek religion, caused him to take the name of Peter Fedorowitz, and declared him Grand-duke of Russia and her presumptive heir. This Prince was then only fourteen years old.

The very day following that on which Peter was declared the successor of the Empress Elizabeth, three ambassadors from Sweden arrived at Peterburgh to announce to this young prince that the senate of Stockholm had chosen him to succeed Frederick I. who, on account of his great age, was no longer capable of swaying the sceptre. Peter having just

devoted himself to Russia, did not think himself at liberty to accept the election of the Swedes; and it appeared that fortune offered to him, almost at the same instant, two crowns, only to render more fatal to him that which he preferred. On making his acknowledgments to the Swedish ambassadors, this prince charged them to request the senate to chuse for king the bishop of Lubeck, Adolphus-Frederick of Holstein, his uncle, who was in effect elected at the end of some months.

A. D. 1745. Three years afterwards an idea was entertained of marrying the Grand-duke to Sophia-Augusta of Anhalt Zerbst, his cousin-german, who was nearly a year younger than him, and who, in embracing the Greek ritual, changed her name to Catharine Alexiewna, which she has rendered so illustrious.

All Europe was deceived respecting the causes of this alliance, which was attributed solely to the mediation of the King of Prussia. It is true that Frederick had desired it; but without a motive remote from politics, the solicitations of this monarch would have produced no effect.

It has been mentioned in the preceding book, that long before she ascended the throne of the Czars, Elizabeth had been engaged to the young Prince of Holstein-Eutin, brother of the Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, mother of Catharine, and that at the very time when the marriage was to have been celebrated the prince fell sick and died. Elizabeth, who loved him to excess, abandoned herself to the deepest sorrow, and in her despair made a vow of renouncing all thoughts of marriage, a resolution which, as I have already said, was at least publicly observed. If ever since that period we have seen Elizabeth yielding to the passion with which several of her courtiers and soldiers inspired her, she did not the less preserve a lively tenderness for the object of her first affection.

She

She rendered to his memory a sort of religious veneration, and never spoke of him without shedding tears.

The Princesses of Anhalt-Zerbst, who was not ignorant of the tender recollection which Elizabeth preserved of her brother, resolved to avail herself of it, in order to secure a throne to her daughter. Her project was confided to the King of Prussia, who greatly commended it, and soon afterwards gave it every assistance in his power.

The Princess of Zerbst repaired to Petersburg, where Elizabeth gave her a cordial reception. Her daughter, who was pretty, and attired in all the graces of youth, made immediately a very strong impression on the heart of the young Grand-duke; and as he himself was then very well made, and endowed with an extremely fine person, the attachment became reciprocal, and was very soon the subject of court conversation. Elizabeth herself remarked it, and it did not appear to displease her. The Princess of Zerbst, who watched the favourable moment, lost no time, flew to throw herself at the feet of the Empress, depicted the attachment of these two lovers as an insurmountable passion, and recalling to her mind the love which she herself had for the Prince of Holstein her brother, she conjured her to be the author of matrimonial felicity to the niece of this prince so deeply regretted.

Doubtless there was no need of all this in order to persuade the Empress. She mingled her tears with those of the Princess of Zerbst, and promised her, with an embrace, that her daughter should be Grand-duchess.

The next day the choice of Elizabeth was announced to the council and to the foreign ministers. The marriage was fixed for a day not very remote, and the preparatives were made with a magnificence worthy of the heir of the throne of the Russias.

But fortune, which till this moment had appeared so favourable to the Grand-duke, began to frown upon him, and Catharine was threatened with the loss of her lover as Elizabeth had lost her's. The Grand-duke was attacked with a violent fever, and in a short time a very malignant small-pox declared itself. This prince did not, however, fall a victim to this cruel malady, but he retained frightful traces of it. The metamorphosis was terrible. He lost the charms of his countenance, and became deformed and almost hideous.

The young princess was not permitted to approach the apartment of the Grand-duke. Her mother rendered her an account of the progress of this prince's disorder. Perceiving how much he was altered, and in the hopes of weakening the effect which the first sight of him might produce upon her daughter, she represented him as one of the ugliest men that she could possibly imagine, and recommended to her at the same time to conceal the disgust with which he might inspire her. The young princess beheld the Grand-duke on his re-appearance with a secret horror. She contrived however to restrain herself; and running to the prince, embraced him with every appearance of joy. On returning, however, to her apartment, she became sensible of the whole extent of her misfortune, fell into a swoon, and was three hours before she recovered the use of her senses.

The chagrin which the young princess had just suffered, did not suggest any pretext for deferring her marriage with the Grand-duke. The Empress looked forward to this alliance with pleasure, the Princess of Zerbst passionately desired it, and the counsels of ambition, already more powerful over the heart of Catharine than the wishes of her mother and those of the Empress, did not permit her to hesitate.

The

The marriage was accordingly celebrated; but notwithstanding the attachment which had manifested itself between the Grand-duke and the Princess from the first moment that they met, nature had not destined them to love each other long, and the alteration which had taken place in the features of the prince was not the only cause of the indifference of his youthful bride. Peter had a defect which, although easy to remove, seemed so much the more cruel: the violence of his love, his reiterated efforts, could not accomplish the consummation of his marriage. If the Prince had confided his secret to some one who possessed a little experience, the obstacle which opposed itself to his desires might have been overcome. The lowest of the disciples of Moses, or the most insignificant surgeon, could have freed him from it. But such was the shame with which this misfortune overwhelmed him that he had not even the courage to reveal it; and the Princess, who received his caresses with the utmost repugnance, and who was not at that time more experienced than himself, neither thought of consoling him, nor of making him employ the means to bring him back to her arms. Nevertheless they lived for some time in apparently good understanding, which Catharine prolonged as much as she thought it was necessary.

This Princess, educated not far from the court of the great Frederick, where every thing breathed the love of the sciences and of the fine arts, joined to beauty and to the superior understanding which she had received from nature, extensive knowledge, and the facility of expressing herself with elegance in several languages.

(Peter likewise possessed sense, but his education had been dreadfully neglected. He had an excellent heart, but was deficient in politeness. He was of a very good stature, but ugly and almost deformed. He frequently blushed at the superiority of his wife, and his wife blushed to behold him so little worthy

of

of her; in a word, he did not know how to make her happy. From thence arose that mutual hatred which the courtiers were not slow in discovering, and which increased so rapidly.)

By an unaccountable caprice, Elizabeth seemed to apprehend that her nephew was too well instructed, and that he rendered himself too much the object of popular approbation. From the moment that she had chosen him for her successor she regarded him as a rival. This perhaps was the reason that she deprived him of Colonel Bruhmer, who had laid the foundation of his education in Holstein, and that she placed Tschoglooff about him, one of the most narrow minded men in Russia. In vain did some virtuous men, for such were to be found even at the court of Petersburg; in vain did some estimable women, for there were some even about Elizabeth; in vain, I say, did those persons, afflicted at beholding the ignorance, and the species of dereliction in which the young Peter was permitted to remain, attempt to make his aunt sensible of the danger of it, the Empress turned a deaf ear to their representations, and sometimes repulsed them with severity.

We may quote, among other examples, that of a lady of the bed-chamber, named Johanna, who had the courage to ask this Princess, why she excluded the Grand-duke from all the deliberations of council. "If you do not permit him to learn any thing which he ought to know in order to govern," added she, "what do you wish that he should become; and what do you mean should become of the empire?" Elizabeth looking on her with anger, made no other reply than this: "Johanna, dost thou know where Siberia is?" Nevertheless the generous Johanna's apprehension was her only punishment, and she was cautious not to make any farther remonstrances to her mistress.

But if some voices had presumed to elevate themselves in favour of Peter, there were many others which

which made themselves heard against him. The courtiers had beheld his arrival with a jealous eye, and considered him as a man who would of necessity at least divide with them, if not bereave them entirely of, the power which they enjoyed. Among those who sought the most to injure him, may be reckoned the Grand-chancellor Bestuscheff. From the commencement of the marriage of the Grand-duke, he resolved to exclude this Prince from the throne; and, however daring, however dangerous this project might appear, he was occupied incessantly in contriving the means of insuring its success. His provident genius did not indeed flatter him with the prospect of seeing Peter completely disinherited; but he wished at least to have him exiled to the employments of a military life, and to place Catharine at the head of affairs.

As soon as the plan of Bestuscheff was well digested, he communicated it to several other courtiers whom he knew to be filled with that hatred which animated himself. There were even women who joined in this conspiracy, and these were not the least useful in forwarding the designs of the chancellor. This minister conducted his intrigue with the utmost address. He every day wrote instructions, which he gave to the persons of his party, on little scraps of paper, and conceived in terms which no one could understand but themselves. He afterwards enclosed these papers in a box with a double bottom, and under the appearance of presenting snuff, he distributed them according to his designs. By this method his confidants knew what they had to do or say through the day. Their principal employment was to criminate the Grand-duke in the eyes of Elizabeth. They exaggerated his slightest faults, they aggravated his most trivial failings, they imputed vices to him of which he was not yet guilty, and which they wished him to contract. They even went so far as to raise an apprehension in the Empress, that her nephew

nephew would become dangerous to her government.

The weak Elizabeth was but too ready to lend an ear to those perfidious insinuations. Naturally timid and suspicious, she concluded by feeling an abhorrence for him whom she had no occasion to mistrust for a single moment.

But what then was the reason of the conduct of the ambitious Bestuscheff? Penetrating and crafty, this minister very quickly discovered in the Grand-duke a feebleness of character. He had, doubtless, equally observed, that the Grand-dutchess was exactly the opposite of her husband. Ought he not then to have hoped, that should they ascend the throne, it would be more easy for him to govern the Prince than the Princess? No, he did not flatter himself with this, for he knew that Peter was informed of what he had done against his interest in Holstein.

On passing through Kiel, at the time of his mission to Hamburgh, Bestuscheff had the audacity and the skill to carry off from the archives of the Dukes of Holstein, the will of the Empress Catharine I. and the original acts relative to the connections of these dukes with the court of Petersburg, and to the claims of the children of Ann Petrowna to the inheritance of the throne of Russia. Guilty of so flagrant an offence, Bestuscheff did not imagine that Peter could ever forget it, and he wished to deprive him of the power of punishment.

Bestuscheff likewise reflected, that Peter must be irritated against him for supporting the house of Austria with Elizabeth, to the prejudice of the King of Prussia; to whom this young Prince paid a species of idolatry.

The Grand-chancellor had found means to gain over to his party almost all those for whom Peter had any affection; and those poltroons surrounded the prince only as spies, and in order to injure him. In this number was Kyrille Razoumoffsky, who had made

made one of those fortunes which are regarded as prodigies in other countries, but which are very common in Russia. Kyrille was a young peasant, who, as soon as he was informed of the favour which the master of the buck-hounds, his brother, enjoyed with the Empress, departed from the Ukraine, his native country, and arrived with his guitar at Peterburgh. From thence, he was immediately sent to Berlin, and placed as a boarder for some time at the house of the celebrated Euler, whom he afterwards had the merit of attracting into Russia. Very soon after his return from Prussia, Kyrille was created count, commandant of the Ismaïloff guards, hetman of the kosacs of the Ukraine, and even president of the academy of arts and sciences. Although of vulgar extraction, and with an education long neglected, Kyrille Razoumoffsky easily insinuated himself into the good graces of the Grand-duke; and though newly arrived at court, he betrayed the Prince with an effrontery and a baseness worthy of an ancient courtier.

To the desire of aiding the designs of the Grand-chancellor, very soon were superadded in the heart of Kyrille Razoumoffsky, motives of a personal vengeance. In proportion as his dignities increased, he suffered with impatience the witticisms of the Grand-duke, who, to say truth, in the orgies to which Kyrille himself excited him, sometimes recalled to his mind too openly, too rudely, his birth, his guitar, and the servile occupations of his early youth.

The Grand-duke had another favourite who did not betray him, but who, unfortunately, was neither endowed with sufficient foresight, nor sufficient address to prevent his being betrayed; this was his aid-de-camp general, Goudowitz. Born in the Ukraine, Goudowitz wished to become hetman of it, and Peter was favourable to this pretension, even in the face of Kyrille Razoumoffsky. From this moment, Kyrille swore in his heart an implacable hatred to the Prince.

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He offered to the Grand-chancellor a country-house, which he possessed near Kamenoi-Nos, that they might there deliberate more at their ease on the project of ruining the Grand-duke, and it was there that all those perfidious councils were since held, at the head of which, at that time, were Bestuscheff, Kyrille, and afterwards Schouwaloff, the young Princess D'Aschkoff, and Maria Sémenowna Tschoglokkoff, maid of honour to the Empress, and one of her most dangerous confidantes. The conspirators concerted together respecting more persons, who, in their judgment, might be useful associates. They gave mutually an account of the engines already played off, prepared new ones, and, finally, adopted the measures the best calculated to deprive the last descendant of Peter I. of the throne.

For example, they endeavoured to persuade the Empress that her nephew was addicted to drunkenness, even long before he had acquired the habit of drinking to excess, a habit which he doubtless contracted from want of employment, from lassitude, and from the treacherous suggestions of those who surrounded him. The following is the manner in which they went to work.

Sémenowna Tschoglokkoff conversing one day with Elizabeth, and perceiving that this Princess was not pleased with the Grand-duke, said to her with an afflicted air, it was very melancholy that this Prince, still so young, should abandon himself to drinking: Elizabeth, who for the first time heard the Grand-duke accused of this vice, believed it to be a calumny, and challenged Sémenowna to prove what she had asserted. "Nothing is more easy," replied the impudent Sémenowna. "Your Majesty will be able to judge from your own observation." A few days afterwards, knowing that the Grand-duke was indisposed and kept his room, she went to see him, and requested him to permit her to keep him company at dinner. Peter gave his consent, and made her place herself

herself at table by him. During the repast, Séménowna with great gaiety and with caresses, said to the Prince, that she would cure him with a bottle of champagne. The bottle was called for; the dexterous Séménowna seized upon it, threw into it secretly a pinch of Spanish snuff, and making the Grand-duke swallow several bumpers to the health of his aunt, she completely intoxicated him. Immediately the perfidious maid of honour gave the Empress notice of it. Elizabeth arrived, and, ignorant of the process of the scene which had just passed, could not behold her-unfortunate nephew without indignation. Already too much disposed to prejudice against him, she believed the more readily in the sequel all that Séménowna Tychogloloff and her accomplices wished to impute to this Prince; and, emboldened by this success, the conspirators presumed to allow themselves to propagate the most unfounded reports.

Besides, the state of inaction, and of neglect in which Peter languished, and the unfortunate easiness of his character, were but too well calculated to favour the designs of his enemies.

When the Empress was impressed with the belief that he abandoned himself to excesses, she not only withdrew the present of fifty thousand roubles which she was accustomed to give him on the anniversary of his birth, but she so curtailed the provisions of his table, that the prince and his companions sometimes had not a decent sufficiency. Peter on these occasions permitted complaints, mingled with ill-humour, to escape him, and these complaints were carefully treasured up, empoisoned, and conveyed to the Empress.

Soon after the marriage of the Grand-duke, his aunt had made him a present of Oranienbaum, a pleasure-house, which had belonged to the too celebrated Menzikoff, and as soon as the fine weather permitted him to quit Peterburgh, where he lived rather as a state prisoner, than as the heir of the throne,

throne, Peter retired to this house. There, freed from the presence of his aunt, and banishing all constraint, he amused himself by causing his attendants to assume a German uniform, and in making them go through the Prussian exercise. Elizabeth commended this occupation, which she thought calculated to destroy in her nephew a taste for dangerous pleasures, and even all inclination for political concerns, which she regarded as still more dangerous. She gave orders at the same time, that a great number of soldiers should be draughted from different regiments, which were put in garrison at Oranienbaum, and added to those of the Grand-duke; but this attention which appeared a favour granted to the Prince, was most probably only a farther precaution employed against him. Whatever might be the case, he received them with transport, and gave himself up to his military and Prussian inclination with redoubled ardour.

(Many Germans have long been in the use of going to try their fortunes in Russia. - The elevation of a Holsteinese prince to the rank of Grand-duke, had attracted thither a still greater number. The soldiers whom Peter had at Oranienbaum were almost all of that nation. He had likewise made choice of several others who understood music, or who had qualifications for performing stage plays, and he made them represent the best pieces of the German theatre.

But neither the theatre nor military exercises could occupy the whole day of this Prince, and the void was but too frequently filled up by those habits in which he had begun to indulge, in the idleness of the palace at Peterburgh.

The party formed against him being well acquainted with his extreme fondness for every thing Prussian, had found means to persuade him that in Prussia all the officers incessantly smoked, drank, and gamed. The young men who were about him, joined, if not from malignity, at least from libertinism, ex-
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ample to precept, and after this he became a smoker, a drinker, a gamester.)

Catharine at that time observed a conduct entirely opposite to that of her husband. Directed by her vigilant mother, her sole employment was to make herself partisans among the most powerful personages of the court. Her violent inclination for pleasure became dormant at the voice of ambition; and if she did not succeed in gaining the friendship of the Empress, she at least found means to command her esteem.

However, what will appear perhaps a little difficult to believe, the Princess of Zerbst did not observe so much circumspection with regard to herself, as she inspired her daughter with. Elizabeth regarded her as a friend, a sister, and reposed in her the most unbounded confidence. Proud of the credit she possessed, the Princess of Zerbst was not slow in abusing it. She presumed to mingle in the intrigues of courtiers, to render herself the dispenser of favours, and, finally to insinuate herself into the secret of the most important affairs. Her haughtiness disgusted the favourites, her curiosity fatigued the ministers. They united together to awaken the jealousy of the Empress, and to deliver her from a yoke which she had permitted to be imposed on herself, without being conscious of it. Their efforts were not unsuccessful. Elizabeth withdrew almost instantaneously that confidence which she had granted to the mother of Catharine.

The Princess of Zerbst, in despair at this reverse, endeavoured by every method to remedy it. She requested the counsels of the King of Prussia and of the King of Sweden; but she was rigorously watched. It became very difficult for her to maintain any correspondence. The following is the mode which she one day adopted, in order to convey a letter to the King of Sweden. A ball was given at court; the Princess of Zerbst was present with the Grand-dutchess,

her daughter. Lestoc, who was exiled shortly after, was likewise present. All at once, the Grand-dutchess advanced towards Lestoc, who, according to his custom, was amusing himself in chatting with some ladies, and throwing him a glove, she told him that she intended dancing with him. Lestoc perceived that it contained a paper. Upon this, the dextrous courtier said, laughing, to the Grand-dutchess; "I accept the challenge, madam, but instead of refforing you your glove, I entreat you to give me the other, that I may present them both as a gift from you to my wife: the favour will be then complete." The country-dance being finished, Lestoc slipped away, concealing the gloves under his waistcoat, for fear that the Empress had been informed of it, and had ordered him to be searched at the door.

All the stratagems which the Princess of Zerbst employed were not equally fortunate. Every day produced some new complaint against her, or discovered some new intrigue. The resentment of the Empress had arrived at its height; she ordered the Princess to quit Russia.

A. D. 1751. The Princess of Zerbst experienced, on parting from her daughter, the most violent affliction. To put the finishing stroke to her misfortune, she durst not settle near the King of Sweden, her brother, who was apprehensive that her presence at Stockholm might give umbrage to the Empress. Equally rejected by her other relations, she took her departure for the court of France, and obtained to the time of her death an asylum in the Luxemburgh.

Catharine beheld the departure of her mother with considerable regret; but the expectation of the throne, which had borne her up against other vexations, still sustained her, and love in a very short time came to mingle its consolations with those of ambition.

The young people who surrounded the Grand-duke did not all abandon themselves, like this prince, solely to the pleasures of the table, to play and to military

military exhibitions. There was one in particular who rendered himself as much distinguished by his taste for the fine arts as by the graces of his person: this was Soltikoff. Chamberlain to the prince, he was in all his parties, but was ashamed of them. He was tolerably well acquainted with French literature, he knew by heart the choicest morsels of Racine and Voltaire, to which his voice seemed to add new charms. Although scarcely emerged from childhood he had already obtained the favours of several of the court belles, and his success rendered him arrogant. Soltikoff it is true, passed for being a little deficient in courage among men, but he was not the less presumptuous nor the less forward in the society of women. Perhaps he might have trembled at the sight of a naked sword, but to extend the number of his gallant conquests, he had frequently appeared to brave the deserts of Siberia. In a word the married men regarded him as the most agreeable and the most dangerous man in Peterburgh.

It was not long before Soltikoff raised his eyes towards the wife of his master, and vanity, still more than love, inspired him with the bold design of captivating her heart. He began by carefully studying the inclinations of the princess. He perceived that notwithstanding the constraint in which she lived, Catharine had a great fondness for pleasure, and that the solitude of Oranienbaum rendered dissipation necessary to her. He immediately procured for her some new amusement every day. He persuaded the Grand-duke to give festivals; he took upon himself the charge of inventing them, of directing them, and he did not allow the Grand-dutchess to remain ignorant that she was their sole object, and that it was to him alone that she was indebted for them. Catharine was not insensible to attentions so gallant, so unremitting. The seducing figure and the wit of Soltikoff had made an impression upon her. His assiduities completely won her; but Soltikoff well knowing that

the heart of the Grand-dutchess was not an ordinary conquest, dreaded explaining himself in an incautious manner. It is even possible that he only wished at that time to feign a passion which proved in the end altogether real. They at last had become attached to each other, for a long time, without having declared their affection.

A melancholy event accelerated this declaration. Soltikoff lost his father. His duty obliged him to take his departure for Moscow. He obtained permission to this effect from the Grand-duke, and on taking leave of Catharine he could not refrain from letting her see what pangs his departure cost him. The Princess who beheld his tears, was no less touched than himself with the motive which caused them to flow, and fixing her eyes, with a very expressive air, upon Soltikoff, she conjured him to abridge the period of his absence as much as he could, and to return to forget his sorrows in the bosom of a court where without him it was impossible to enjoy pleasure.

The character of Soltikoff may permit us easily to judge of what an impression these words were productive. He thought he perceived a return of affection on her part, and his pride redoubled. His journey lasted but a few days. What were domestic occupations when put in competition with the happiness which awaited him? What was Moscow to him in comparison of Petersburg? He abandoned every thing to hasten, and to secure his triumph.

However, on approaching the Grand-dutchess, the presumptuous ideas which had filled his mind at a distance from her, began to vanish away. His audacity abandoned him. The most serious, the most melancholy reflections overwhelmed his spirit. He foresaw all the danger of his attachment. He durst not presume to flatter himself that Catharine could forget what she owed to her rank, to her husband, to receive the attentions of a simple chamberlain. But were he so happy as to find that she deigned to return
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his passion, was it possible for him to believe he could elude the penetrating observation of the jealous courtiers who surrounded him? How, in a word, risk an avowal of which perpetual imprisonment, or even the loss of life might become the price? He trembled, he was struck with terror, he resolved to renounce those hopes which he believed to have been too ambitiously conceived.

In this state of inquietude and sorrow, Soltikoff could no longer display that brilliant gaiety, which had till then distinguished him. He tried in vain to assume at times an unembarrassed air. The deepest melancholy preyed upon his heart, and was depicted on his countenance; his health visibly declined. The Grand-duchess was alarmed at it, and one day that she found herself alone with him, demanded the reason. Soltikoff being then unable to resist the passion which he felt, made the confession. Catharine listened to it without anger, she even appeared to pity him, but advised him to renounce a propensity of which he could not but feel the impropriety and the danger. Although still very young, Soltikoff understood the female sex too well not to know that she who permits herself to listen to a lover, already begins to approve him. He gained new confidence. He threw himself at the knees of the Grand-duchess, and had the presumption to embrace them. The Princess was distressed, she let fall some tears, and flying precipitately from the transports of Soltikoff, to go and shut herself up in her closet, she repeated that line with which Monimia addresses Xiphars in the tragedy of Mithridates;

“ Et meritez les pleurs que vous m’allez coûter.” *

From this moment the chamberlain recovered his gaiety with hope, and every thing around him announced this alteration.

* And merit the tears you are going to cost me.

Whilst the Grand-duke and the Grand-dutchess passed the fine season at Oranienbaum, the Empress Elizabeth remained at Petershof, and from time to time invited this couple thither to partake of the pleasures of her court. It was on one of these occasions that Soltikoff became completely happy. A. D. 1733. In order to avoid spectacles,

feasts, where too many indiscreet observations laid her under constraint, Catharine feigned indisposition. The Grand-duke was so blinded with respect to his chamberlain, that he himself entreated him to share the solitude of his wife, and to employ all the alterments of his wit in order to amuse her. This was precisely what the two lovers wished; accordingly they did not fail to take advantage of it. But scarcely had the Grand-dutchess yielded, than she abandoned herself to all the apprehension with which the idea of her weakness could inspire her. She foresaw the dangerous consequences of the pleasures which she tasted with Soltikoff, and imparted her fears to him. The chamberlain observed to her, that if she could find a method to bring her husband to her arms, the consequences which she so much dreaded would become of advantage to her. He took upon himself at the same time to procure the success of the project.

The Grand-duke had, as has been already said, begun to abandon himself to the excesses of the table, and, when heated with wine, sometimes conversed with his friends respecting the obstacle which estranged him from his wife. The cause of his impotence was then known, and the method of removing it easy; but the Grand-duke feared to make use of this method. Soltikoff resolved to make him determine upon it. He wished however in the first place to obtain the consent of the Empress. An opportunity very fortunately presented itself.

Madam de Narischkin, sister and confidant of Soltikoff, was pregnant. Soltikoff was chatting with her when

when Elizabeth approached Madam de Narischkin to congratulate her on the happiness she enjoyed in knowing how to create an heir.—“I wish sincerely,” added she, “you could communicate this virtue to the Grand-dutchess.” Soltikoff saw that this was the favourable moment for letting the Empress know what it was that opposed the happiness of the Grand-duke. He revealed it to her. He likewise informed her, that he had formed the design of profiting by the ascendancy which he had over the Prince, to persuade him to rid himself of an obstacle so easy to be removed. Elizabeth approved it, and even recommended to him to neglect nothing which could procure success in a project on which depended the tranquillity of her nephew, and that of the empire.

Soltikoff, emboldened by this first step, proposed the very same day to the Grand-duke to submit to the operation prescribed by the legislator of the Hebrews. He represented to him that he would experience but a very slight pain, and that he would only be obliged to keep his apartment some days, to taste afterwards the most delicious pleasures. The Prince, naturally timid, manifested an extreme repugnance. The wishes of his aunt, the enthusiasm of Soltikoff, the wish he himself felt of enjoying an unknown pleasure, the shame of not being like other men, nothing could make him come to a resolution.

But Soltikoff was too much interested in this undertaking to be discouraged by these first difficulties. He gained over the other favourites of the Grand-duke, by assuring them, that what he had done was by the orders of the Empress. One night that this prince supped with him, and having, according to custom, drank to excess, they turned the conversation upon the pleasures of love. The Prince permitted some expressions of regret to escape him, on the impossibility of having the power of enjoying them. Upon this, all the company threw themselves at his

knees, and conjured him to yield to the advice of Soltikoff. The Grand-duke appeared irresolute. Some words which he stammered out were interpreted into consent. Every thing was prepared. The famous physician Boerhave was introduced, with a skilful surgeon. He had no longer any power of defending himself, and the operation was very happily performed. The Empress Elizabeth was so well satisfied with the conduct of Soltikoff, that she testified her gratitude by presenting him with a magnificent diamond.

The young chamberlain had been till then too happy not to experience some disturbance of his happiness. The Grand-duchess did not always observe sufficient precaution to conceal the passion which she had for him. The courtiers, always malignant, always envious, began by remarking a preference which offended them, and they very soon discovered the real cause. Immediately the ruin of Soltikoff was resolved upon. Even those who testified the greatest friendship towards him, and of course had it most in their power to injure him, continued secretly to convey to the Empress their suspicions respecting the attachment between the Grand-duchess and the chamberlain. Greatly addicted to gallantry herself, Elizabeth should not perhaps have been too deeply offended at this intrigue; but she was stately, and in the first moments of her indignation, she declared that an exile into Siberia should be the price of the temerity of Soltikoff. She likewise declared, that as soon as the Grand-duke, perfectly cured of the consequences of the operation which he had undergone, could begin to enjoy the privileges of a husband, it was her will that the Grand-duchess should conform to the ancient custom of the Russians, and give the tokens of virginity, which she must have preserved till then.

Soltikoff, informed of the danger which threatened him, immediately applied himself to devise the

the means of escaping it. He perceived, that the best mode to prevent the storm from bursting on his head, was to brave it. Assuming then an air of assurance, and with all the appearance of injured innocence, he flew to the Grand-duke to complain of the reports which had been so daringly spread. He reminded the Prince, that he had only presented himself before the Grand-dutcheſs in conformity to the orders which he had himself given him, and he protested that he had never regarded that Princess but with all the respect due to her rank. He observed at the same time, that the calumniators who wished to ruin him sought, by a round-about but certain method, to attack the heir of the empire, since by these infamous reports the honour of the throne would find itself much more deeply exposed than that of a simple chamberlain. He finally added, in order that he might no longer furnish a pretext for the jealousy of his enemies, and to appease the Empress, that he begged the Grand-duke's permission to retire to Moscow.

The discourse of Soltikoff not only deceived the credulous Prince, but persuaded him, that his own glory required he should retain the chamberlain in the service of his wife. He ordered him to remain; afterwards he demanded an audience of the Empress, in which he complained of the insolent language which was allowed; he defended Soltikoff with so much vehemence, and by such plausible reasons, that Elizabeth began herself to believe that the reports which had been made to her could be the offspring only of calumny.

Whilst this scene was going forward in the apartment of Elizabeth, the Grand-dutcheſs did not remain idle; she was more interested than any one, in causing these injurious reports to be quashed, and in the preservation of her lover. And who could better than herself undertake her own defence? Informed by Madam de Narischkin of the pains which
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the Grand-duke had taken to justify Soltikoff, and of the success which he had just obtained, she presented herself immediately before the Empress. Laying aside the mildness in which she had always, till then, appeared clothed in the presence of the sovereign, she broke out into reproaches for her having given credit to such odious suspicions. She represented how uncertain and deceitful the proof which the Empress demanded of her virtue might be, and how such a request overwhelmed her with shame, since on occasions of this kind the smallest doubt left an indelible stain. Grief, revenge, passion, lent so great a force to her eloquence, that Elizabeth could not resist it; she appeared moved, softened, persuaded, and the victory of Catharine was still more complete than that of the Grand-duke.

In the evening there was, according to custom, a grand party at the palace, and the Empress hastened to take advantage of it, to testify in the eyes of her courtiers, that Soltikoff had no longer any thing to dread from her. The chamberlain was engaged at play: Elizabeth, advancing close to the back of his chair, asked him, with that grace which she knew how to infuse into every thing she said, if he was happy. "Never, Madam," replied Soltikoff. "I am sorry for it," rejoined she: "but this is perhaps in some measure your own fault. It is said that you intend quitting the Grand-duke; I cannot believe it, and I invite you to remain with him. Depend upon it, that if your enemies make any further attempts to malign you, I will be the first to stand up in your defence."

Had it been true that Soltikoff was forming a serious design of withdrawing himself from court, these words would have been sufficient to retain him; and supposing the courtiers to have procured the most positive proof of his presumption, they would henceforward have imposed silence on them.

However, the Grand-duke, feeling no longer any
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inconvenience from the operation which he had undergone, at last had the courage to enjoy his privileges as a husband. All was prepared; he passed the night with his consort, and believed himself perfectly happy. The next day he sent to the Empress, at the instigation of Soltikoff, a sealed casket, which contained the tokens of the pretended virginity of the Grand-duchess. Elizabeth appeared to be persuaded of their authenticity. Some people no doubt laughed at this inwardly, but every one was eager loudly to felicitate the Prince upon his happiness.

From this period Soltikoff thought he had no danger to guard against: he enjoyed, without disturbance and without remorse, pleasures from which, the moment that the Grand-duke had passed into the arms of Catharine, did not permit him to apprehend any ill consequences. Catharine herself had no longer occasion to employ extreme circumspection: her first success had inspired her with greater courage. Besides, the example of the Empress Elizabeth, whose manners became more and more corrupted, and who abandoned herself every day to new propensities, seemed to excuse her own attachment. The Empress entertained no suspicions of an intrigue which she might easily have perceived, or if she remarked it, she did not any longer discover at least either suspicion or anger.

A. D. 1754. Time, which weakens, and frequently extinguishes, the most ardent passions, did not in any degree diminish that of Catharine. That Princess was on the point of becoming a mother; Soltikoff gained every day a greater ascendancy over her heart; but his good fortune had arrived at its summit; he became himself the artificer of his own destruction.

The Grand-chancellor, Bestuscheff, was dumb, as well as the other courtiers, with respect to the favour which Soltikoff enjoyed; but still continued to watch him with the strictest attention. Occupied incessantly with the project of depriving the Grand-duke

duke of the throne, the old minister thought that the most certain means of success was, in the first place, to ruin the favourite of the Prince, and that in order to ruin him he must first gain him.

Bestusheff, whom the title of Grand-chancellor, the general administration of affairs, his credit, his deep skill in politics, rendered the most powerful man of the empire, became the humble flatterer of Soltikoff. He lavished on him marks of deference, praises and caresses. He revealed to him the most important secrets; he frequently consulted, or feigned to consult him; he at last got such complete possession of his confidence, that the chamberlain, misled by ambition, believed he had not a more sincere friend than the crafty minister. He himself, who now saw the influence that he possessed over Soltikoff, and who only meditated delivering himself from so dangerous a rival, caused him to adopt this fatal measure: He told him, that in order to increase his ascendancy, and to render himself complete governor of the mind of the Grand-duke, he must banish from that Prince the persons who possessed birth, ambition, talents, and only permit him to be surrounded by low and obscure people, or who, provided by Soltikoff himself, would be entirely devoted to him. Soltikoff did not perceive the snare. He was already incapable of penetrating into the motive of so perfidious an advice. The favour which he enjoyed rendered every thing possible; his ambition increased; he wished to assure to himself an absolute empire; he hastened to do all that the old chancellor had told him. Thus one moment of imprudence destroyed a triumph of several years.

This fresh storm, brewed against the favourite, all at once augmented. The young courtiers, finding themselves secluded from the heir of the throne, murmured, and united their efforts to those of the friends of Bestusheff. The chancellor stimulated the audacity of the Tschoglokovs and the Razoumoffskies.

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They at last united as one man, for the purpose of laying their complaints before Elizabeth. Bestusheff perceived that it was time to speak himself to the Empress. He had therefore a secret conference with her, in which he reminded her of all she already knew of the weakness, of the absurdities of the Grand-duke, and of the excesses, to which he abandoned himself. He told her that these excesses, that these irregularities, were to be attributed to Soltikoff alone, who, that he might the better enslave the Prince, permitted only abject and debauched companions to approach him. He renewed the suspicions too well founded, and for a long time spread abroad, respecting the criminal correspondence which the chamberlain kept up with the Grand-dutcheß. He finally represented him as a treacherous favourite, whose ambition threatened Russia with a horrible reign.

The Empress, irritated, resolved anew to punish Soltikoff; but, directed by the old chancellor, she took this time means more certain than the first. The secret was kept, and the disgrace of the chamberlain was concealed under the pretext of an honourable mission. Elizabeth gave him orders to take his departure for Stockholm with the title of envoy extraordinary, to notify to the King of Sweden the birth of Paul Petrowitz, of whom the Grand-dutcheß was just delivered. The presumptuous Soltikoff at that time beheld in this employ only a new mark of the favour of the Empress. He accepted it with gratitude, quickly set out for Sweden, and was going to return in the same manner; but scarcely had he quitted Stockholm on his way to Petersburg, when a courier stopped him on the road, and delivered him an order to go and reside at Hamburg, in quality of minister plenipotentiary from the court of Russia.

The eyes of Soltikoff were now opened. He saw that he had been cruelly deceived. He wrote to the Grand-dutcheß, and entreated her to solicit his recall. That Princess, not less affected than himself at his absence,

absence, was hastening immediately to employ her credit and her eloquence with the Empress to prevail on her to recal him ; but the chancellor, who had foreseen every thing, paid her a visit, in order to represent to her the dangers of this project. He told her without circumlocution, that the steps she was going to hazard in favour of Soltikoff would fortify the suspicions entertained of her, and would end in her ruin. She stood convinced. Ambition reduced love to silence.

Catharine, however, preserved for some time the passion with which the chamberlain had inspired her. She frequently wrote to and received letters from him. Misfortune seemed even to augment her tenderness; when all at once the presence of a stranger, whom chance had conducted to the court of Russia, obliterated from her mind a lover whom she beheld no longer.

A. D. 1755. The young Count Stanislaus Poniatowsky, to whom Catharine has since given, and afterwards taken away, the throne of Poland, was the happy successor of Soltikoff. Born a simple gentleman, and unpossessed of fortune, but endowed with a fine figure and filled with ambition, Poniatowsky carried about through Germany, and in France for some time, his restlessness and vague expectations. He was at first tolerably successful at Paris, where the friendship of the Swedish ambassador procured him some distinguished connections ; but his mother, who dreaded on his account the too seductive pleasures of that city, wrote to him, with orders to depart from it. She was in the right ; for Poniatowsky had been already imprisoned for debt, and had been released merely by the generosity of the wife of a manufacturer of glais named Geoffrin. He quitted France, and went over to England, where he met again Sir Hanbury Williams, with whom he had been acquainted at Warsaw, and who, nominated by the court of London as ambassador to Peterburgh, carried him with his

his suit. Without having any title which could attach him to the embassy, the young Polonese laboured in the ambassador's office, and served him in quality of secretary. He at first intended to devote himself entirely to diplomatic pursuits; but the taste for dissipation which for a long time had led him away, his youth, the seducing opportunities which were every day presenting themselves to him, very soon hurried him back to pleasure. He was gay, genteel, brilliant, and formed to succeed in a court of which amusement seemed to be the principal concern. Accordingly, he was not slow in perceiving the impression which he had made upon the heart of Catharine.

A. D. 1756. Poniatowsky was bold even to presumption. However, the rank of the Grand-duchess intimidated him, and the numerous courtiers whose eyes were upon him restrained him still more. The two lovers for some time conversed only by their looks, but to these conversations in dumb-show some of another sort afterwards succeeded, in which they came to an explanation with regard to their attachment, and respecting the methods which they should adopt in order to give themselves up to it without constraint.

Envy, which at that time studied the inclinations of the Grand-duchess only to censure and thwart them, hastened to inform the Empress of the new intrigue of her adopted niece.

Elizabeth did not esteem her nephew, and gave herself as little concern about the honour of the Grand-duchess; she did not, in general observe greater severity with regard to the manners of others than to her own; in a word, she was always reluctant to punish; but her extreme facility in following the counsels of all who surrounded her, frequently caused her to act with a rigour entirely foreign to her character. She gave orders to Poniatowsky to quit Russia immediately. . . . Poniatowsky obeyed.

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In continuing to form the cabal against the Grand-duke, and in banishing Soltikoff from the court, the chancellor Bestusheff had neglected nothing to strengthen his party by the support of the Grand-dutchess. He appeared every day to attach himself more and more to this Princess. He humoured her propensities; he became even subservient to them; he at last obliterated from her mind that he had been the principal cause of the loss of her first lover. She thought that he might be of service in procuring the restoration of the second. The old minister gave her his promise, and was in earnest to employ means for this end. Poniatowsky appeared to him as an object far less to be dreaded than Soltikoff. He knew that the heart of Catharine could not remain in an inactive state: he was better pleased, then, to see her choice fall upon a foreigner than upon a Russian.

The grand-chancellor was on intimate terms with the Count de Bruhl, prime minister to the King of Poland. He wrote to inform him of the attachment of the Grand-dutchess to Poniatowsky, and of the advantage which he might derive from sending this young Polonese back to Russia, by giving him a character which served as a plausible pretext for his return. The Count de Bruhl was sensible of the importance of this project; however, the execution of it was rather embarrassing; it was necessary to infringe, in favour of Poniatowsky, two laws which were absolutely against him.

The first of these laws forbade every native of Poland, possessing a starostie, to quit the kingdom.

The second declared, that a Polonese could never take charge, at a foreign court, of the direction of the affairs of Saxony, nor a Saxon those of Poland.

But Bruhl had a method of silencing the laws, when placed in opposition to his will. The necessity of acquiring an ascendant at the court of Russia, and the desire of conciliating farther the friendship of the

the Russian chancellor, whom the Saxon regarded as one of his principal supporters, carried every thing before them. Poniatowsky was publicly invested with the order of the white eagle, and very soon afterwards a secret council was held, in which he was nominated minister plenipotentiary of the republic, and of the King of Poland, to the Empress Elizabeth. They did not even deign, on this occasion, to assemble the *senatus concilium*, as was customary.

All the patriots of Poland were fired with indignation. They were not ignorant that the new plenipotentiary was the creature of the Czartorynskies, and the partisan of England and of Prussia.

Durand, an intelligent and courageous man, *chargé des affaires* from France, flew to the Count de Bruhl to reproach him with the choice which he had just made, at a moment when it was of so much consequence for Poland to keep on terms with the courts of Vienna and of Versailles. The Count de Bruhl thought to deceive the agent of France by a falsehood; he asserted that he had been in no degree instrumental in the nomination of Poniatowsky; but, notwithstanding, he only displayed greater zeal in hastening his departure.

Become the patron of Poniatowsky, the Count de Bruhl neglected nothing in order to procure that success which might justify his choice. He was informed of that state of formality which an affectation of Asiatic luxury established at the court of Russia. He was not ignorant that the Empress Elizabeth lavished on her favourites, and on the inventors of her sumptuous and absurd *fêtes*, the money which she ought to have employed in answering the exigencies of the empire; he knew, in a word, that the Grand-duke and the Grand-duchess languished in a penury unbecoming their rank. He remitted therefore to Poniatowsky six thousand ducats, that he might lend them to the Prince and his consort on their most pressing occasions, and to conciliate to himself, by

this means, their entire benevolence. Poniatowsky very artfully took advantage of the advice and the munificence of Bruhl. He was already secure of the heart of the wife; and very soon became successful with the husband. He spoke English and German with him; he drank, smoked, violently abused France and the French, and bestowed excessive praises on the King of Prussia. He feigned besides to be occupied only in the pursuit of pleasure. But the Poles, the Russians themselves were not slow of penetrating into his ambitious designs, and maintained that he was sacrificing to his own interests those of his master and of the Czartorynskies : time has shewn that they were not mistaken.

And what might not a man of ability then effect at the court of Petersburgh ? What were the principal personages of this court, abandoned to ostentation, to intrigue, to depravity ?

The Empress Elizabeth had insensibly quitted moderate pleasures for gross excess, and her taste for devotion augmented with that for voluptuousness. She continued for whole hours on her knees before an image to which she spoke, which she even consulted; and she passed by turns from bigotry to debauchery, and from debauchery to bigotry. She frequently drank to intoxication, and too sensual, too impatient in that state, she would not even permit herself to be undressed. Her women only slightly tacked together the clothes with which they dressed her in the morning, that they might take them off in the evening with a few touches of the scissars, they afterwards carried her to bed, where she endeavoured to recover strength in the arms of a new gallant.

The Grand-dutchess, blinded by her passion, and appearing to have entirely forgotten that prudence which had been so frequently recommended to her by her mother, and of which she understood how to make use afterwards, imitated with boldness the irregularities of her aunt. She followed only the counsels

sels of Bestusheff, of Williams, the British ambassador, and of Poniatowsky. A foreigner accordingly, then at Petersburg, remarked, in making allusion to these three men, that she could not fail of being ill conducted, since she permitted herself to be directed by roguery, folly and fatuity. Poniatowsky never quitted her. She consecrated to him her whole days and nights; and observed so little mystery in this commerce, that all the Russians accused the young Polonese of being the father of the child which she then carried in her womb. This child was the Princess Anne, of whom the Grand-dutchess was delivered soon after, and who died almost as soon as born.

The Grand-duke was the only person at court who did not yet perceive the irregularities of the Grand-dutchess. But whether it was, that though he might be in a condition to satisfy the love with which she formerly inspired him, this love became immediately cold, or whether it was that the repugnance which he observed in her caused the same feeling in himself, he approached her but very rarely. This Prince besides abandoned himself more than ever to his mania of aping the King of Prussia; he imitated, with a puerile affectation, the air, the manners, the tone of this monarch. He made his little troop at Oranienbaum wear the Prussian uniform, and assumed it himself; he fatigued his soldiers by useless manœuvres and exercises; from these he passed to the excesses of the table, and when he was drunk, announced that he would one day be the conqueror of the north, and would imitate Frederick in every thing. But how wide a difference was there between the imitator and the model!

The Grand-chancellor, occupied incessantly in his project of vilifying, of calumniating this Prince, and in encouraging the propensities of the Grand-dutchess, in hope that, when she ascended the throne, she would maintain him in his place, forgot the inter-

rests of the empire to attend solely to his own. The other ministers, who for the most part were only his tools, did exactly the same.

The Rázoumoffskies, the Schouwalooffs, the Tschoglokooffs, the Narischkins, the Woronzoffs, and the croud of courtiers who witnessed the degradation of their rulers, despised and flattered them in the most contemptible manner.

The people, who could easily perceive the disorders of the court, seemed not to dare to raise their eyes to it. They revered, in Elizabeth, the blood of Peter I. without disturbing themselves about her vices; so great still was the influence of the impulsion given by the despotic reformer of Russia! so much is the Russian formed for an implicit servitude.

As soon as the Grand-chancellor Bestuscheff had accomplished the reconciliation of the court of Vienna with that of Peterburgh, the Empress Elizabeth, and Maria Theresa of Austria, formed against the King of Prussia an alliance offensive and defensive, to which the King of Poland, Augustus III. had acceded as Elector of Saxony.

The English and French, regarded, with reason, as the two first nations of Europe, and formed for reciprocal esteem, seemed capable only of hating each other. The right of possession of some uncultivated lands in America renewed the war between them; and this first spark, issuing from the extremities of Canada, occasioned a conflagration which soon set on fire the two worlds. Frederick II. became the ally of England, and, always the adversary of Maria-Theresa and of Augustus III. commenced his hostilities by the invasion of Saxony, and by the capture of the whole Saxon army, entrenched in the camp of Pirna, and composed of seventeen thousand men. During this period another Prussian army entered Bohemia, and beat the Austrians in two or three rencounters.

The Empress Elizabeth sent Field-marschal Apraxin with forty thousand Russians, to avenge the Elec-
tor

tor of Saxony, and to assist Maria-Theresa in driving the Prussians from Bohemia, and in recovering Silesia, which sixteen years before Frederick had taken from her. Apraxin soon put himself in possession of Memel, and advanced afterwards almost up to Gross-Joegersdorff, where the Prussians, commanded by Mareschal Lewald, came to attack him. The victory was for a long time disputed, but at last it remained with the Russians, who, after having killed more than two thousand men of the Prussians, obliged them to quit the field of battle, and to leave behind them twenty-nine pieces of cannon.

If Apraxin had profited by this first advantage, and by the terror which he had just inspired, he might easily have marched on to Berlin. But, to the great astonishment of the Russians, and to the scandal of their allies, he fell back towards Courland, and hastened to establish himself in winter quarters. The following is the motive of this conduct. The Grand-duke, in despair at seeing his aunt give assistance against a monarch whom he idolized, made application to Bestuscheff to persuade him to recal the Russians. Bestuscheff did not like Frederick, and was on the contrary one of the most ardent friends of the court of Vienna. He least of all wished to do any thing which might give pleasure to the Grand-duke. But the Empress Elizabeth having just fallen sick, the Grand-duke might in a day or two ascend the throne; and Bestuscheff wishing, at whatever price, to maintain his authority, sacrificed his hatred, his affections, the honour of the empire, to his ambition. He gave orders to Field-mareschal Apraxin to renounce his conquests and to return; but the chancellor was for this once the dupe of his own policy.

Although Bestuscheff had made himself a great number of partisans, and a still greater number of tools, he had also many enemies; and these enemies had a glimpse of the means of ruining him, which they laid hold of with avidity. They perceived that

it would be very easy for them to cause hatred and disorder to succeed the coldness which had subsisted for a long time between the Grand-duke and the Grand-dutchess, and that they might procure the punishment of Bestuscheff for having been the primary cause, not only of these disagreements, but even of the estrangement of the Empress from her nephew.

This plan well digested, they began by making the Prince observe the frequent conversations which Poniatowsky had with the Grand-dutchess. Their gestures were watched; care was taken to catch at the most trifling words which escaped them, and which could serve as the pretext to some allusion. One night, among others, that the Grand-dutchess was at table in the midst of a numerous company, and opposite to Poniatowsky, the conversation turned upon the address which some ladies had in managing horses, and of the dangers to which they exposed themselves in this exercise, Catharine, who had her eyes fixed upon her lover, replied with vivacity: "There are few women so courageous as I am; I possess unbridled temerity." These words were instantly reported to the Grand-duke, who was easily furnished with the mode of making a malignant application of them.

When the jealousy of the Grand-duke was once awakened, they were in haste to furnish him with positive proofs of the love of his wife for the Polish, and of the criminal commerce which they carried on. The Prince was overwhelmed, thunder-struck. He deplored his misfortune and his imprudence. He laid aside the deference, the respect which he had till then expressed for the Grand-dutchess, and he forbade Poniatowsky her presence. He afterwards hastened to the Empress, from whom he demanded vengeance for the insult he had received. He told her at the same time, that the chancellor had not only encouraged the irregularities of the Grand-dutchess,

dutchess, but had likewise frequently betrayed even the confidence of his aunt herself. He finally made her acquainted with the order sent by this minister to Field-marshal Apraxin, to make him evacuate Prussia.

The Empress, touched with the grief of her nephew, and indignant at the perfidy of Bestusheff, gave immediate orders for his arrest. The chancellor was at the same time deprived of his place, judged, declared guilty of high-treason, and condemned to lose his head; but Elizabeth contented herself with banishing him to Goretowo. Thus passed in an instant from power to slavery, the man whose word alone caused Russia to tremble, and who had an influence over the destiny of a considerable part of Europe.

Count Michaël Woronzoff succeeded Bestusheff in the office of Grand-chancellor.

The Grand-dutchess, to whom the resentment of her husband seemed to presage the most dreadful consequences, beheld herself immediately in a state of total neglect. The courtiers who had been her greatest flatterers were the first to abandon her. She was sensible how imprudent she had been, but did not lose courage. Wishing to employ that eloquence which had formerly succeeded so well with the Empress, she demanded an audience of this Princess: Elizabeth refused her. Catharine then thought it her duty to make application to the French ambassador, because, both on account of his situation and from his personal merit, this minister enjoyed high favour. She conjured him to intercede for her, and to represent to the Empress that she was overwhelmed with her disgrace, and that as she had been so unfortunate as to displease her, her repentance merited a pardon.

The ambassador lavished on this Princess all the consolations and the counsels which his policy could suggest to him, but he did not conceive it his duty to take upon himself the charge of bringing about

a reconciliation which appeared to him very difficult, and which he despaired of effecting.

Catharine remained then for some time in this painful situation. She had to support at the same time the hatred of the Grand-duke, the disdain of the Empress, the insulting dereliction of a court which some days before hastened to cringe at her feet, and, what afflicted her still more, the apprehension of losing Poniatowsky for ever.

Poniatowsky was not less tormented than her. The court of Warsaw had just recalled him, and he could not resolve on quitting Russia. Feigning indisposition, he kept himself during the day concealed in his hotel, and at night stole mysteriously to the Grand-dutchess. But numerous spies observed this pair: their interviews were discovered, and care was taken to render an account of them to the Empress.

Upon the return of the summer season, the difficulties of meeting each other still increased. The Grand-dutchess was under a necessity of following her husband to Oranienbaum, and Poniatowsky was obliged to employ every species of disguise in order to penetrate into this castle. One night that he had been at considerable pains to conceal his ribbon of the White Eagle, he was walking in an alley of the park where Catharine had given him the meeting; he was recognized by a servant, who ran to give this information to the Grand-duke. The Prince, wishing to avenge himself on Poniatowsky, immediately ordered the stoutest of his Russian officers to be summoned, and, after having given one of them the signal by which to distinguish the Polonese, he ordered him to go and surprise him in the park, and to bring him, either by fair means or by force, to the corps-de-garde.

The Russian immediately set out, joined the man who had been pointed out to him, and demanded who he was, and what he wanted? Poniatowsky replied,

plied that he was a German taylor, and that he had come to Oranienbaum to take measure of a Holsteinese officer for a coat. "I have orders to conduct you to the corps-de-garde," said the Russian to him. "I cannot consent to this; I have not sufficient time," replied the Polonese.—"Oh! whether thou hast time or not, thou must follow me;" replied the Russian: and throwing a handkerchief over his neck, in which he had made a slip-knot, he dragged him to the fort.

As soon as the Grand-duke was sure of the arrest of Poniatowsky, he assembled a council of war, and insisted that the Polonese should be condemned to the gallows, for having intruded clandestinely within the limits of his fortifications. General Tottleben, whom the Empress had placed about him in order to watch his conduct, pretended to applaud this resolution; but he observed, that as Poniatowsky was invested with the character of a foreign minister this sentence could not be executed till after they had obtained the approbation of the Empress. A courier was immediately dispatched to Petersburg. Kratschinsky attached to Poniatowsky, by the ties of friendship, and by the title of gentleman of the embassy, and lover of the Countess of Romanzoff, employed this last with Elizabeth, whose confidant she was, to prevail on her to restore the Polish minister to liberty. During this time some courtiers of the Grand-duke had, at the instigation of Catharine, tempted the avarice of the Prince's mistress; and through the medium of a sum of money, this young woman had persuaded her lover to release Poniatowsky.

Poniatowsky was then conducted into the presence of the Grand-duke, as if the Prince had been still ignorant who his prisoner was. He assumed even the air of being hurt that he had been treated with so much indignity on his account, and scolded the officer who arrested him; but he afterwards amused himself greatly with this adventure, and took pleasure
above

above all things to relate it in the presence of the Grand-dutchess.

It was a short time before this, that, whether yielding to an involuntary inclination, or whether he wished to indemnify himself for the infidelities of his wife, the Grand-duke had chosen for a mistress, one of the daughters of the senator Woronzoff, brother of the new chancellor. These ladies were three sisters; the eldest of whom, Madam de Boutourlin, passed with reason for one of the most beautiful and most coquettish women in Russia. The youngest, who has since performed so courageous a part under the name of the Princess D'Aschkoff, was not very handsome, but lively and very intelligent. As to the third, Elizabeth Romanowna Woronzoff, to whom the Grand-duke gave the title of Countess, and of whom he was so passionately enamoured, she possessed neither wit, grace, nor beauty. Her complaisance seduced him, her caprices amused him, and the habit of living with her became very soon to him an imperious necessity. The senator Woronzoff, a mean and ambitious courtier, prostituted his daughter to the Prince in the basest manner.

Mareschal Apraxin was deprived of the command, sent prisoner to Narva, and tried by a council of war, which had predetermined not to bring him in guilty.

General Fermer, who succeeded Apraxin, took possession of Königsberg, imposed heavy contributions, went to lay siege to Küstrin, beat a Prussian army, flew to the succour of this place, and entered in triumph into the city. After so fortunate a campaign, Fermer knowing the attachment of the Grand-duke to the Prussians, and apprehending that this Prince might one day punish him for his victories, made the state of his health a pretext for demanding permission to retire.

Soltikoff succeeded to Fermer, and obtained a series of successes no less brilliant. He conquered successively,

cessively, the Prussians, near Crossen and Franckfort-upon-the-Oder, and made himself master of these two cities. At Franckfort the Russians were joined by the Austrian army, commanded by Generals Laudohn and Haddick. Frederick, who had in vain exhausted all his talents and his activity to prevent this junction, attacked the Russians at Kunerdsdorff. But his military skill, his exertions, and the valour of his troops, were still unavailing; he beheld victory torn from him. The battle of Kunerdsdorff was one of the most bloody of that war, as two and thirty thousand men lost their lives in it. The Russians took seven thousand prisoners, and carried off six-and-twenty pair of colours, a hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, and a great part of the ammunition and baggage of the Prussian army. It seemed as if all the Russian generals had an invincible ascendant over Frederick. However, this monarch had the advantage, not only of knowing their orders, and their plans of the campaign, which the Grand-duke transmitted to him by means of the secretary of state, Volkoff, but likewise that of being frequently guided by them.

A. D. 1759. General Soltikoff, restrained without doubt by the same motives which influenced his two predecessors, appeared to disdain attempting any new victories, and remained in a state of inaction till the close of the campaign.

A. D. 1760. The following year, the Russian general, Tottleben, seconded by the Austrian general, Lascey, took possession of Berlin, made the garrison prisoners of war, laid the inhabitants under contribution, and permitted his soldiers to carry off the pictures, and to mutilate a part of the beautiful statues of the gallery of Charlottenburgh.

A. D. 1761. The courtiers, envious of the glory of Soltikoff, the Grand-duke and the ambassador of England, Keith, provoked at those talents which were opposed to Frederick, the ministers of Austria
and

and of France, more discontented still, that he had not done every thing which he might have done ; all parties, in a word, conspired to form a cabal against this general, and caused him to be superseded by the Marechal Boutourlin.

However, the Empress Elizabeth had totally lost her health, and the necessity of taking some repose, added to her natural indolence, made her more than ever neglectful of business. Scarcely could the new Grand-chancellor Woronzoff prevail on her to give her signature ; the only found resolution to abandon herself to pleasure. Banquets, balls, masquerades, still occupied her attention. She went to the play at eleven in the evening, passed the rest of the night at table, and went to bed at five in the morning. The most important affairs appeared to her only as mere trifles. Informed of her nephew's attachment to the young Woronzoff, to whom she presently gave the nickname of Pompadour, she took pleasure in making her repeat the most minute details of their orgies, and seemed to seek in them an apology for her own weaknesses ; but did not the less display to the Prince an indifferent and frequently a repulsive countenance.

The Grand-dutchess, who awaited with impatience the moment which was to reconcile the Empress to her, thought it her duty, after a pretty long silence, to renew her attempts. She demanded pardon, but it could not be granted, except on conditions which shocked her. A proposal was made to her to acknowledge herself guilty, and to throw herself on the clemency of her husband and of the Empress.

Catharine upon this recovered all her haughtiness. She avoided making her appearance at court, kept herself shut up in her apartments, and asked permission of the Empress to retire into Germany, a permission which she was very certain would not be granted, since knowing the extreme tenderness of Elizabeth for the young Paul Petrowitz, she had no
reason

reason to apprehend that this Princess would consent to remove the mother of a child whom she would by that expose to the hazard of being one day declared a bastard. This project of Catharine's procured the wished-for success: an accommodation followed it immediately. At the very moment when she was thought to be completely ruined, and to the great astonishment of all the courtiers, she made her appearance at the play by the side of the Empress, who lavished caresses on her.

It is true, that in the secret conversation which the Grand-duchess had with Elizabeth, she promised not to see Poniatowsky any more, and from this moment in reality she infused a much greater portion of reserve into her conduct. Poniatowsky demanded almost immediately his audience of leave. But, as ambition still more than love attached him to Catharine, and as he was willing to neglect nothing that might kindle still farther a flame, which since then procured him the throne of Poland, he found new pretexts to protract still longer his stay in Russia.

The cabal formed by Bestusheff had not been quashed by the disgrace of that minister, and the enemies of the Grand-duke continued on every occasion to injure him in the good opinion of his aunt. They above all took advantage of the indisposition of this Princess, to persuade her that the Grand-duke was rejoiced at the situation in which she was, and expressed the utmost impatience to enjoy his inheritance. The Empress, already too much exasperated against her nephew, was cruelly wounded by this report. In the first emotions of her anger, a menace escaped her of depriving him of the throne. Some people imagined from this, that she would give the inheritance to Prince Ivan, whom she had dethroned twenty years before, and who languished in a dungeon. Others thought with greater reason that she had a design of putting Paul Petrowitz in her place. A few days afterwards, at a time when the Grand-duke

duke was at Oranienbaum, she gave orders, all at once, that an exhibition should be prepared, and contrary to her general custom, she neither invited to it the foreign ministers, nor her courtiers. The Grand-dutchess, her son, and the most intimate favourites alone accompanied her. Scarcely had she entered into her box when she complained on beholding so few spectators, and said that the soldiers of her guard must be called in. On a sudden the theatre was filled with them. Then taking in her arms the young Paul Petrowitz, she presented him to these ancient warriors to whom she was indebted for the throne; and commending the graces, the interesting physiognomy, the dawning qualities of the heart and mind of the child, she appeared to demand for him the same good will from them which they had manifested towards herself. The soldiers replied by shouts of applause. Had Elizabeth explained herself any farther, the Grand-duke would have been for ever excluded from the throne; but, notwithstanding the enthusiasm of her guards, that Princess stopped short. Perhaps she thought it was necessary for her to know their dispositions, in order that she might execute her project with greater precaution and solemnity; perhaps, likewise, it was only her intention to intimidate the Grand-duke.

The news of this scene very soon spread abroad, and engaged the attention of many of the courtiers. A lying report was then revived, without doubt destitute of all foundation, but which was secretly given credit to at the birth of Paul Petrowitz. It was pretended that the Empress Elizabeth had gained over the nurse of the Grand-dutchess's child, and had caused her to substitute in his place a son whom she had had by Razoumoffsky.

However, whatever might be the designs of the Empress Elizabeth, death did not allow her sufficient time to accomplish them. A few days after what she had done at the theatre in favour of the young Prince, she

she felt her health sensibly decline. She suffered violent pains in her bowels which nothing could alleviate; and to distract her attention, she drank to greater excess than ever. In vain her physicians represented to her that she herself would shorten her days. In vain did the people who attended her endeavour to keep strong liquors from her; she would constantly have in her chamber a chest, the key of which she kept under her bolster. It was evident, now, that her end must be infallibly approaching. The intriguing part of the court became reanimated, and divided themselves into two parties extremely opposite.

The first was formed of the remainder of the friends of Bestuscheff, who always caballed in favour of the Grand-dutchess, and of whom, after the exile of the Grand-chancellor, Count Ivan-Ivanowitsch-Schouwaloff was declared the chief, although he was in reality but the instrument. Schouwaloff, whose avarice caused the Russian merchants to tremble, and whose insolent knavery filled the Grand-duke with indignation, Schouwaloff perceived very distinctly that his power and good fortune were in great danger of terminating with the life of Elizabeth, and saw no other means of escaping the vengeance of the Prince, than by barring his access to the throne. Guided by a man more bold than himself, according to the plan traced almost twenty years before by Bestuscheff, and supporting himself by the well-known intentions of the Empress, he gave consent that the Grand-duke should be elected sovereign of Russia, but wished that the regency should be conferred on the Grand-dutchess, under the authority of a council, of which he modestly reserved to himself the place of one of the principal members.

Although secretly irritated to see what Ivan Schouwaloff designed for himself in this partition, the Grand-dutchess seconded, with all her efforts, the project of this favourite. She was animated by a double

double motive, fear and ambition. But the more she desired to obtain the supreme power, the more she concealed this desire. In the eyes of those who approached her but seldom, she concealed her plans under an apparent indifference; and incessantly repeated to her most intimate confidants, "that she preferred the title of mother to the Emperor, to that of his consort." On the other hand, she could not but be sensible that since her infidelities were known to the Grand-duke, she had every thing to dread from that Prince. He made no secret of his hatred for her, and had frequently given her manifest proofs of it.

The second party which divided the court, and supported the rights which the Grand-duke had to the throne, was conducted by the senator Woronzoff, brother of the new Grand-chancellor. This man was at the same time the most ambitious and the meanest man in all Russia. He possessed wit and courage, but he employed his wit only in contriving the means of intrigue, and his courage in braving contempt. His daughter was publicly the mistress of the Grand-duke; and the senator who, as has been already said, had himself prepared, nay formed this connection, neglected nothing which could render the tie still firmer. The access which he had to the Grand-duke furnished him with frequent occasions of irritating him still further against the Grand-dutchess, and of conversing with him respecting what he should do on his accession to the throne. He got such complete possession of his confidence, that this Prince resolved on nothing without first consulting him, or without advertising him of it through the medium of his daughter. Finally, in compliance with the instigations of Woronzoff, and of some other courtiers devoted to this senator, the Grand-duke resolved to assemble the troops at the moment when the Empress's eyes should be closed, to cause himself to be proclaimed Emperor, to repudiate the Grand-dutchess,

to

to declare the young Paul Petrowitz a bastard, and publicly to espouse his mistress Romanowna Woronzoff.

Every thing seemed to ensure the success of this enterprise. The Grand-duke, it is true, did not give satisfaction to his courtiers, but he was still respected by the people who beheld in him the descendant of Peter I. Woronzoff had, besides, a far greater portion of address than Schouwaloff, and he was well assured that England would furnish him with considerable supplies.

In the midst of conspiracies, of intrigues, of the continual agitations with which the two parties filled the court of the dying Empress, and which rendered them every moment greater enemies to each other, appeared all at once a man who undertook to quell every animosity, and to effect an union of opinions. This man was the Count Nikita Ivanowitz Panin, who, since then, occupied for so long a time the place of prime minister to Catharine, and who then returned from Stockholm, where he had for a long time resided.

The Count Panin was not of very illustrious birth. He commenced his career by being a soldier in the horse-guards of the Empress Elizabeth. The protection of Prince Kourakin made him afterwards groom of the chamber. Soon afterwards the Empress observed him, and thought he could minister to her secret pleasures, but her expectations were disappointed. Panin was possessed merely of a figure. Elizabeth then sent him to Copenhagen, and afterwards to Sweden, with the title of her minister plenipotentiary. On his return from Stockholm, he was nominated governor to Prince Paul Petrowitz. Panin had received but very little instruction; he was one of those middling geniuses who imagine that what they know, or what they think, is always the best. His residence in Sweden had made him believe that an aristocratical constitution and a senate, were the master-piece of governments.

governments. He adhered obstinately to his opinions. He was besides indolent, incorrect, and greatly addicted to slander and gossiping.

In accepting the place of governor to the young Prince, he was obliged to take the side either of the Grand-duke, or of the Grand-dutchess. Panin did not hesitate. He devoted himself entirely to Catharine. Admitted into her confidence, and acquainted with the design which she had formed to carry off the sceptre from her husband, he easily perceived all the danger, to which she would expose herself. He was sensible that she might miscarry; and that then she would instantly behold herself driven from the throne and from the bed of the Emperor, and that her son would share in her disgrace. It was this last misfortune which the governor most apprehended.

He at first believed, that in order to avoid this, it was necessary to persuade the two opposite parties to abandon their exaggerated pretensions, and he flattered himself the only way to obtain their consent to this surrender, was to play off their mutual fears. He resolved then to make them unanimous in placing the Grand-duke upon the throne, and in causing him to be proclaimed Emperor, not by the troops, but by the senate, which would limit at the same time the power of this Prince, and secure the situation of his consort and son.

This project once conceived, Panin employed himself seriously respecting the means of putting it in execution. Ambition changed on a sudden, and for a moment, his character. Activity succeeded to his usual indolence; to his usual talkativeness, silence. He was even mistrustful of the Grand-dutchess herself, and did not admit her into his secret. He went farther; he affected to withdraw from her sight, and pretended to abandon her party; but when he thought himself pretty certain that no suspicion was entertained of his intentions, he paid a mysterious visit to Count Ivan Schouwaloff.

Ivan

Ivan Schouwaloff abandoned himself to the most lively uneasiness. He wept, he trembled to behold himself the chief of a party, and to see attributed to him the dangerous honour of a project conceived by his ambitious cousin, Peter Schouwaloff, who, confined at this period to his bed, by a disease of which he died shortly after, could not support the audacity with which he had for some time inspired the self-important and pusillanimous favourite of Elizabeth.

This circumstance was favourable to Panin. He took advantage of it. He perfectly well understood how to augment the apprehensions of Ivan Schouwaloff, by exaggerating to him the perils to which he would expose himself. "How dare you," said he to him, "oppose unequal forces to the Grand-duke, and prepare for yourself a dreadful fall, a certain death, by attempting to exclude from the throne a Prince, whom the choice of the sovereign calls thither, and whose birth renders him the sole legitimate heir of it? But even supposing you should succeed in your attempts to prevent his accession, can you hope for any length of time to preserve your credit, under a minority, the weakness of which will embolden your rivals, and give rise to a croud of malecontents, who will incessantly use their endeavours to injure you? If you triumph over one intrigue, can you flatter yourself that you shall be equally fortunate in escaping another; if the first blow levelled at you does not hit its mark, may not the second overwhelm you? The most prudent step which you can take is, to join yourself to the Grand-duke. There is still time. He himself knows the obstacles which are preparing for him, and he will think himself but too happy, if at the price of a slight sacrifice, he has nothing more to apprehend. Leave him, then, the tranquil possession of the throne, but let us make him purchase it on conditions which may dissipate at this moment our terrors, and for ever prevent the Prince

I 2

"from

“ from abusing his power. It is of no consequence
 “ at present to tell you what these conditions are ;
 “ but if you pay deference to my advice, I have no
 “ doubt that the Grand-duke will easily arrange
 “ matters, and I promise to furnish you with a plan
 “ calculated to conciliate all parties.”

Ivan Schouwaloff did not reply a single word ; but convinced of the wisdom of the counsels of Pannin, he went to his cousin Peter, and imparted to him what he had just heard. Disease had weakened the courage of Peter Schouwaloff, and diminished the soaring of his ambition. He easily allowed himself to be persuaded of every thing which Ivan apprehended ; nevertheless, in renouncing his project, he wished still to reserve the principal part to himself.

He sent word to the Grand-duke, that having some important secrets to communicate to him, and his condition putting it out of his power to quit his bed, he entreated he would honour him with a visit. The Prince came immediately. Peter Schouwaloff addressed him with the force and the air of inspiration of a man, who, drawing towards his last moments, wishes not to conceal the truth, and has nothing more to dread. “ Prince,” said he to him, “ you know
 “ the prejudices which are entertained against you.
 “ The people believe that you are more inclined to-
 “ wards the Germans than towards them ; the pre-
 “ lates are afraid of you ; the nobles hate you. Every
 “ thing announces to you a turbulent reign. Every
 “ thing proves to you, that in order to prevent the
 “ revolutions, of which you are supposed to have
 “ formed the design, they will proceed to the last
 “ extremities. I am ignorant, Prince, of what you
 “ meditate in reality ; I know not whether you will
 “ triumph over those who wish to ruin you, or whe-
 “ ther they are to triumph over you : but if you do
 “ what it is believed you intend, if you repudiate the
 “ Grand-duchess to elevate to her situation, a wo-
 “ man

"man so vilely contemptible as the Countess of Wronzoff, reflect that you will prepare for yourself commotions, of which you will soon or late become the victim, and that you will disgrace yourself for ever."

As he listened to this discourse, the Grand-duke became pale and red several times; and when he perceived that Peter Schouwaloff had done speaking, he assured him, that the design of annulling his marriage had been wrongfully imputed to him, and that he had never determined upon it. But what gives us room to doubt the sincerity of his protestations is, that the Prince subjoined these remarkable words: "Romanowna gives credit, perhaps, to the reports which flatter her; she is a giddy girl whom I have promised to marry in case of the death of the Grand-dutchess, and she is not yet dead."

Peter Schouwaloff was too sincerely desirous of a reconciliation with the Grand-duke, to give to this last declaration all the interpretation of which it was susceptible; and contented himself with the promise which the Prince had made him, to obliterate from his mind all those daring attempts which had been made against him.

This reconciliation was accomplished without difficulty, but there still remained another not less interesting, and much more difficult to obtain. It is well known with what odious suspicions the enemies of the Grand-duke had inspired the Empress. That Princess was in terror lest her nephew should employ poison in order to get himself rid of her, and this terror augmented her weakness, and filled her with abhorrence for him who was the object of it. Since the time that her disease prevented her appearance in public, she had ordered the Grand-duke to be forbidden her apartment; and that this order might appear the less extraordinary, the same command had been given respecting the Grand-dutchess. The secret of these divisions, of these disturbances in the imperial

family, had been still confined to the interior of the palace ; but it might easily have spread abroad in Petersburg ; and had it been known that the Empress died without seeing the Prince and his wife, the people, always blindly credulous, would have regarded the unjust suspicions of Elizabeth as having some foundation, and would have been eager to attribute to the nephew the death of the aunt. It was therefore necessary to persuade this Princess to invite the Grand-duke to visit her.

Ivan Schouwaloff was grand-chamberlain and governor of the Empress's household. Panin thought he was a fit person to demand the reconciliation which he desired ; but whether it was that Schouwaloff was afraid of giving too much trouble to the feeble Elizabeth, or whether he wished to keep the Grand-duke for some time longer in a state of inquietude, and to avoid an eclairsissement dangerous to all those who had endeavoured to malign this Prince ; whether, in a word, he reckoned upon the forged will, which there was a proposal to bring forward, he refused to make this request.

Panin then made application to the confessor of Elizabeth. He frankly acknowledged to him, that the commission with which he charged him was a very delicate one, and that in endeavouring to save the soul of the sovereign, he might perhaps incur her displeasure ; but that the glory which his success would merit, ought to be an incitement to brave every danger. He assured him at the same time of the gratitude of the Grand-duke and the Grand-duchess. The papa, not less ambitious, without doubt, of gaining the favour of the heir of the throne, than zealous for the salvation of the Empress, promised to employ all his holy eloquence with her.

Every necessary precaution was taken. A moment was chosen, at which Ivan Schouwaloff was absent, and then the confessor, approaching the bed of the Empress, spoke to her of God, of justice, of clemency,

mency, and obtained from her a sign of consent. At the same instant the Grand-duke and Grand-dutchess were introduced, who placed themselves on their knees by the bed-side, and Elizabeth pronounced mechanically all that her confessor dictated to her. She said to the Prince and the Princess, "That she had always loved them, and that she expired in wishing them every sort of blessing."

All who were witnesses of this scene, perceived that the pardon was not very sincere; but appearances were sufficient for the Prince, and his partisans did not fail to repeat in Petersburg, with peculiar emphasis, the affectionate words pronounced by the Empress, and to embellish them with a great many falsehoods.

On the other hand, Ivan Schouwaloff, who had not understood how to make a merit to himself of the reconciliation of the Grand-duke, but who did not wish that it should furnish an occasion of irritating this Prince, was careful not to contradict any thing which they thought proper to publish on the subject.

Proud of the important service which he had just rendered the Grand-duke, Panin thought that he had acquired sufficient rights to induce him to consent to follow implicitly the plan which he had traced out. According to this plan, the Grand-duke, as soon as the Empress had ceased to breathe, was to go to the senate, and, by a decree of that assembly, take possession of the crown.

Panin accordingly demanded an audience of the Grand-duke. It was immediately granted. He first informed the Prince, that what he was going to lay before him merited his utmost attention. After this he addressed him in these terms:—"It is on the first step which you take upon ascending the throne, Prince, that the success of your reign, and the glory which you will merit, necessarily depend. There are two modes of clothing yourself with the su-

preme power. One is to cause yourself to be proclaimed Emperor by the army; the other, to receive the crown from the hands of the senate. The first is the most expeditious; the second the most secure. All Europe, and a great part of Asia, have their eyes fixed upon you. Reflect then on the honour which you will acquire, if the numerous nations subject to your domination, and foreign nations themselves, behold that you are generous enough to condescend to acquire from the free choice of the representatives of the Russian nation, an authority for which your predecessors have been indebted to force merely, and to the venality of soldiers.

"You know how frequent revolutions have been in this empire; you know with what facility seduced or mutinous troops have crowned or dethroned their sovereigns. The method which I propose to you is the only one calculated to prevent dangerous designs. The senate having elected you, will find itself interested to support that choice, and the people, regarding your person as more sacred, will always be eager to defend it."

The Grand-duke was staggered, he was going to comply, when all at once two of his courtiers entered. He imparted to them the project of Panin, and requested their advice. One of them, who clearly discerned the treachery lurking under the plan proposed to the Prince, counselled him to submit his decision to the aged Prince Troubetskoï, whose long experience and consummate wisdom were worthy of directing him. Prince Troubetskoï had indeed been the witness, and a co-operator in several revolutions, and was perfectly well acquainted with the usages of Russia.

He was immediately summoned. The Grand-duke repeated to him all that he had just heard from the mouth of Panin, and did not conceal the inclination which he felt to follow the advice of the count. But
Trou-

Troubetskoi declared himself of a different opinion and spoke with all the boldness of an old warrior zealous for the honour of his rulers.

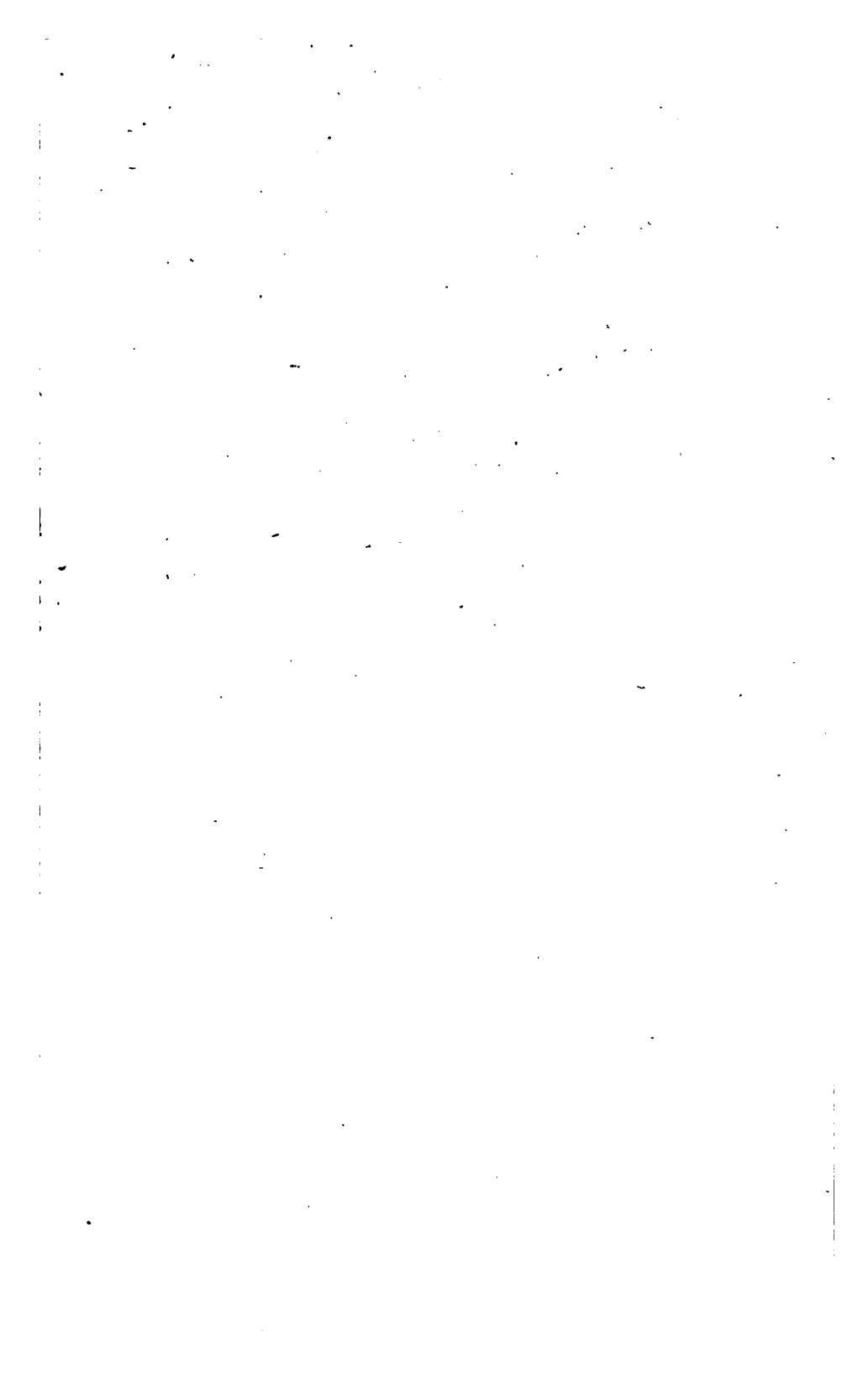
"Prince," said he to him, "the plan which it is wished you should adopt, is not only far more dangerous than that which you have been taught to fear, but entirely contrary to the customs of the empire. The Russian constitution is purely military, and the senate never ought to have any influence in the election of the Czars. And what then is the pretended glory which is to be derived from being crowned by a judiciary corps rather than by victorious soldiers? Chosen by a diet or by a senate, can the kings of Poland and of Sweden ever pretend to vie with the Emperor of all the Russias? In truth, the only glory of a monarch is to reign well. Deserve then that glory, without disturbing yourself with a vain formality, and without putting yourself under the control of an ambitious senate, which would very soon make you repent the confidence you had in it. But if, unfortunately, your throne should totter, would this senate have sufficient strength to re-establish it? And should you commence by giving umbrage to the soldiers, by despising their ancient usage, must you not sooner or later have reason to dread their vengeance?"

The Grand-duke now fluctuated in irresolution. The brilliant novelty of the counsels of Panin flattered him, but the dread of offending the army prevented him from daring to follow them. Not knowing, in a word, which plan to adopt, he sent one of his chamberlains to consult the Grand-duchess.

Catharine, whose whole ambition had been awakened by the approaching end of Elizabeth, and who felt the necessity of gaining the public esteem by the appearance of a piety which did not exist in her heart, she at that time attended the churches, and joined in the public prayers which were put up for
the

the re-establishment of the health of the Empress. Panin had the imprudent discretion to keep his project a secret from her. She was ignorant that this project contained any thing to her advantage. Besides, she had passed several days in composing herself the act of proclamation which should acknowledge the Emperor, as well as the model of the oath to be administered to the troops; and as she valued herself on writing with considerable elegance, and flattered her vanity in thinking that these two pieces would do her infinite honour in the eyes of the Russians, she was unwilling to sacrifice a labour which must have been lost had the Prince been elected by the senate, as this body would itself have dictated the new form of the oath and the new act of proclamation. She therefore sent this hasty reply to the Grand-duke, "that he must conform to the established custom."

A. D. 1762. At the same moment that the Grand-duke received this answer, the death of the Empress Elizabeth was announced to him. That Princess expired after a long illness, and in the midst of excruciating torments. She had reigned twenty years, without having performed one act which could justify the revolution that placed on her head the crown of Russia. Her easiness of temper put her under the control of favourites, who too much abused their power. Her devotion rendered her frequently impious; her clemency, cruel. She was, in a word, better fitted to vegetate in the indolence of a convent, than to sit on the throne of one of the most extensive empires in the world.





PETER III FEDOROWITZ.

*Became Emperor of Russia 5 January 1762;
was dethroned and strangled in July 1762.*

Published Feb.^r 2^o 1800, by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

BOOK III.

Commencement of the Reign of Peter III.—He recalls a great Number of Exiles, among whom Munich and Biren were conspicuously distinguished—Oukase in favour of the Nobility—Peace with Prussia—Peter's Admiration of Frederick II.—Misunderstanding between Peter III. and Catharine—Intrigues against that Prince—The Orloffs, Princess d'Aschkoff, Panin, form the Project of dethroning him—He pays a Visit to Ivan, confined as a Prisoner in the Fortrefs of Schlusfelburgh—The Design he entertained of naming that Prince his Successor—Preparations against Denmark.

A. D. **N**O sooner had Elizabeth closed her eyes 1762. than the courtiers resorted in crowds to the apartments of the Grand-duke. That Prince, putting off for the moment his feeble and undecided character, welcomed them with dignity, and received the oath of the officers of his guard. An hour afterward he mounted on horseback, and paraded through the streets of Petersburg, ordering money to be liberally scattered among the populace. The soldiery pressed forward as he passed, crying aloud: "If you are kind to us, we will serve you as faithfully as we have served our good Empress." The people blended shouts of joy with the acclamations of the soldiers, and although the enemies of the Grand-duke had long used every effort to render him an object of aversion or of contempt, his accession to the throne produced not the slightest symptom of disaffection or discontent. As for himself, delivered on a sudden from the tedious and servile state of constraint in which his aunt had kept him, his deportment clearly announced the satisfaction which he felt, without

out any expression of indecent joy. He assumed the name of Peter III.

The first days of his reign were marked with various traits of beneficence, which excited the utmost astonishment in all who knew him, and who believed only in his ill qualities. The metamorphosis appeared to be instantaneous and complete; dignity and moderation supplied the place of stupidity and violence. The Grand-duke had been inconsistent, headstrong, capricious: Peter III. approved himself just, patient, intelligent. He treated with extreme kindness all those who had been attached to the Empress his aunt. He permitted almost all the great officers of state to remain in their places. He pardoned his enemies. He raised to the rank of Field-marshal Peter Schouwaloff, who had long been bed-ridden, and who died soon after. He continued in the place of master of the buck-hounds Alexis-Gregoriowitz Razoumoffsky, the ancient favourite of Elizabeth. He accumulated favours on Ivan Schouwaloff himself, though he had frequently made a very improper use of his credit. Prince Schakowskoi, procurator-general of the senate, against whom Peter had much ground of complaint, was the only person he turned out; but he exacted his resignation simply, leaving him in possession of his liberty and his estates. At the same time one of the name of Gleboff, who, of no higher rank than a common attorney, had been entrusted with the direction of the affairs of Holstein, and had by his administration secured the affection of the Prince; was promoted to the place of Schakowskoi. Gleboff, afterward, made a very ungrateful return for a mark so distinguished of his master's confidence.

The Grand-duchess, who could not reflect without terror on the moment which was to invest her husband with supreme power, and who apprehended an immediate and signal explosion of that resentment which

which she had too well deserved, met with the most flattering reception from him, and every demonstration of confidence. He seemed to have sunk all recollection of the offences given him by that Princess in admiration of the ascendant of her genius. He passed a great part of the day in her company; he conversed with her on the most friendly terms, and consulted her on business of the most delicate nature. All the courtiers, surprized at the Emperor's conduct toward her, congratulated Catharine upon it; she herself alone was not the dupe of these appearances, she justly conjectured that Peter was incapable of holding the reins of government himself, and she was not simple enough to believe that to proceed from goodness which was merely the effect of imbecility.

One of the first acts of the new sovereign was to recal from exile that multitude of state-prisoners with which the mistrust of Elizabeth and the jealousy of her ministers had peopled the deserts of Siberia. Among those victims of court-intrigue, the celebrated Biren made a distinguished figure, a man who had long been the haughty lover and the barbarous minister of the Empress Anne. Peter III. satisfied himself with restoring him to liberty, but Catharine afterwards gave him back the dutchy of Courland. Biren, instructed in the school of adversity, lived henceforward the life of a philosopher; and whether from fear or from policy, cherished a people whom he had formerly oppressed.

Peter III. recalled likewise from Siberia Field-marshal Munich, now four-score and two years old, who was met, as he approached the capital, by one of his sons who was still in life, and thirty-two of his grandsons or great-grandsons. This aged warrior appeared before the Emperor with his numerous family, and dressed in the same sheep-skin which had served him for clothing in the deserts of Pelim; but the Prince immediately ordered him to be invested

vested with the insignia of the order of St. Andrew, and with his rank of Field-mareschal, addressing him in these words; "I hope, that notwithstanding your advanced age, it may still be in your power to serve me." Munich replied: "As your Majesty has called me from darkness to light, and delivered me from the depths of a cavern to place me at the foot of the throne, you will ever find me ready to devote my life to your service. Neither a long exile, nor the rigours of a Siberian climate, have been able to extinguish the ardour which I formerly displayed for the interest of Russia, and for the glory of its sovereign." What a wonderful man was Munich! At the age of eighty-two years, after having passed more than twenty of them in the frozen regions of Siberia, he still shewed himself what he had once been. At the head of armies, in the rage of the fiercest battles, on the point of perishing upon a scaffold, exiled into a desert, invited back to court and loaded with honours, he steadily maintained his manly courage and a serenity which nothing could discompose.

Lestoc, to whom Elizabeth had been indebted for her elevation to the throne, and whom she had afterwards indolently sacrificed to the jealousy of Bestusheff and to the avidity of some other courtiers, was likewise recalled by Peter III. and, by living since at Peterburgh in a state of mediocrity, has demonstrated that the lessons of adversity were no more lost upon him than on Biren and Munich.

Every day was marked by the arrival at Peterburgh of some of the victims of the preceding reign, and their return furnished an affecting spectacle to the people, and a copious subject of benediction on the head of the Czar. The whole empire resounded with the praises of its new sovereign, and it is impossible to describe the admiration, the transports of joy which were excited on his going in great state to the senate, and reading in that assembly a declaration,

tion, by which he granted permission to the nobility to carry or not to carry arms at pleasure, and to travel beyond the limits of the Russian empire, which had hitherto been strictly prohibited. He at the same time enfranchised them from the servitude to which they had been subjected by his predecessors. The nobles, overwhelmed with gratitude, could think of nothing less than rearing a statue of gold for him: but this enthusiasm was of short duration.

A much more essential benefit which Russia owed to Peter III. was the abolition of that inquisition, of that tremendous committee which, under the denomination of *privy-chancery*, had been productive of so much mischief under the reign of the suspicious and timid Elizabeth. Alexis Michaelowitz, the father of Peter I. had been the institutor of this tyrannical tribunal, contrived for the trial, or rather for the condemnation, of all who were accused of high-treason, or were obnoxious to the Prince and his informers. The slightest suspicion, the most absurd charge was sufficient to induce the *privy-chancery* to commit to prison persons of the most estimable character, and to deliver them over to tortures the most horrible: neither sex nor age served as a protection.

But it is necessary to explain how Peter III. came to promulgate these two declarations, dictated by a justice the most enlightened, and a confidence the most generous. A reason must be assigned why a mixture so extraordinary was observable in the conduct of this Prince, of foresight and forgetfulness, of magnanimity and weakness. His defects, his vices were the miserable and necessary effect of his education; his good actions proceeded from the noble ambition of conferring happiness; but this ambition frequently stood in need of a stimulus.

The Czar entertained as his aid-de-camp general, and a first-rate favourite, a young Ukrainian of the name of Goudowitz, who has been mentioned above,
and

and who alone of his numerous courtiers had a sincere attachment to him. This Goudowitz it was who, at the moment Peter was preparing to step into the throne, persuaded him to follow the counsels of old Prince Troubetzkoi, instead of reposing a blind confidence in those of Panin; he too it was who suggested all those measures so replete with wisdom and dignity which signalized the first days of his master's reign. But the Emperor, beset by the corrupters of his morals, speedily relapsed into his habits of indolence, and abandoned himself more violently than ever to his accustomed revels. For five days together he had shut himself up with his mistress and a few of his bottle companions, during which he was almost in a continual state of intoxication; Goudowitz appeared in his presence, and with a look of severity thus addressed him:—"Czar, I clearly perceive that
"you prefer to us the enemies of your glory. You
"serve them with zeal; you wish to justify them
"when they affirm, that you are more ambitious
"of abandoning yourself to obscure and degrading
"pleasures, than fit to govern the empire. Is it
"thus you imitate your vigilant and laborious grand-
"father, that Peter I. whom you have so often sworn
"to take as your model? Is it thus you persevere in
"the sage and dignified conduct which, on your ac-
"cession to the throne, procured for you the love
"and admiration of your people? But that love, and
"that admiration, are already forgotten. They are
"succeeded by murmuring and discontent. Peter-
"burgh demands whether the Czar lives any longer
"within her walls. The whole empire is filled with
"apprehension of waiting in vain for laws which
"might infuse a new soul into it. The disaffected
"alone triumph, and yet a little while the intrigues,
"the cabals which the first moments of your reign
"had reduced to silence, are going to re-commence
"with an audacity unknown before. Rouse then, O
"Czar! from your lethargy; delay not a moment
"to

"to shew yourself, and demonstrate by some illustrious act of virtue, that you are capable of realizing the hopes which have been conceived concerning you."

Peter listened to this reprimand in astonishment mingled with shame, and when Goudowitz ceased from speaking, demanded of him what he ought to do as an indemnification to the empire for the days he had just been wasting in debauchery. That instant Goudowitz presented the two declarations intrusted to him for the purpose by the Grand-chancellor Woronzoff, the one of which re-established the rights of the nobility, and the other abolished the privy chancery. Peter took the papers without perusing their contents, and, putting them under his arm, repaired to the senate to recite them.

All those who received information of what the new declarations contained, felt a sudden transition from discontent to joy, and actually believed that the Emperor's five days retirement had been dedicated to the framing of two salutary laws.

Peter likewise undertook to correct the numerous abuses which had crept into the administration of justice, and to establish forms of jurisprudence more prompt, and less favourable to chicane; but as an alteration of so much difficulty could not be accomplished in a single day, it was necessary for him to begin with a thorough knowledge of the practice of the courts, and with keeping a watchful eye over their conduct. He went to the senate-house at an hour when no one expected him, and, finding it almost empty, sent a summons to command the attendance of the members, and expressed with warmth, yet with dignity, how much he was hurt by their neglect.

(Commerce, the arts, the sciences, were equally objects of attention to the new Czar. In Russia almost all the departments of administration are confided to a certain number of persons who form the several

boards to which they give the title of colleges : thus they denominate one the college of admiralty, another the college of the receipt of customs, a third the college of agriculture. Peter frequently visited those boards; he took a part in their deliberations, he even challenged them in argument, and if he was incapable of throwing light on the subjects under discussion, he at least animated them by his presence and countenance. He seemed to have it at heart to bring back the people to his own way of thinking. This was no easy enterprize; for the people, prepossessed by their priests, knew that this Prince preferred Lutheranism to the religion of the Greek church, and Germans to Russians. Nevertheless the Czar, attentive to the counsels of his friend, and zealous to imitate the example of the King of Prussia, made himself of easy access to all who requested an audience, received their petitions, and made it his study to procure justice for them. His enemies themselves could not refrain from giving their testimony to a popularity which recalled to memory, in certain respects, that of Peter I.

Early after his accession, Peter invited the foreign ministers to an audience, and received their compliments of congratulation with much dignity of deportment. This behaviour, noble, decent, in every particular contrary to the ideas which almost all had formed of this Prince, filled them with surprize; but what astonished them still more, at a splendid entertainment which he gave them, he was extremely reserved in conversation, and drank temperately. In a word, natives and foreigners contended in expressions of admiration at a change which they could scarcely believe to be real. The court of Vienna itself for some time reckoned on the amicable dispositions of the the new Czar. Maria-Theresa flattered herself that the death of Elizabeth would not entirely disturb the good understanding subsisting between the two Imperial courts; but these hopes speedily evaporated.

evaporated. Peter was incapable of dissimulation, and of all the sentiments he entertained that which he was least able to disguise was his attachment to the King of Prussia. He set at liberty the Prussian prisoners confined at Petersburg, and admitted them to his table. One of them whom he treated with peculiar distinction was the Count de Hordt, a Swedish officer, who had entered into the service of Frederick II. and whom Elizabeth kept for three years in a state of exile. The Czar made this man his confidant, his bosom friend, and talked to him almost incessantly on his darling subject, the Prussian monarch.

He seldom invited to his court any of the foreign ministers, except the Prussian envoy, and M. Keith the British ambassador, which rendered his coldness to others still more disgusting. Peter had long kept up an intimate correspondence with Frederick; in his letters he addressed him under no other designation but that of his dear brother, or his worthy master: he called to his recollection that, previously to his own elevation to the rank of Grand-duke, he had the honour of holding a commission in his Majesty's service, and he descended so far as to entreat the King to grant him a higher rank in his army. The Prussian monarch knew perfectly well how to avail himself dexterously of the Czar's friendship. He did not immediately grant the promotion which Peter had solicited; in order to excite in him a more ardent desire to obtain it; but after a short delay informed him by letter that he had raised him to the rank of Major-general, not in consideration of his station as a sovereign prince, but entirely out of respect for his military talents. This pretended favour overwhelmed Peter with delight. His passion for the King of Prussia grew stronger and stronger. He had the portrait of that monarch hung up in his chamber, and celebrated this inauguration, and the glory acquired by obtaining a military degree from Berlin, by a mag-

nificent repast, in which he forgot the temperance he had for some time practised. If the insatiation of Peter, on the subject of the King of Prussia, had not been come to the height, it might have stood corrected by certain sarcastic lessons which he provoked from his own subjects. I shall quote only one instance.—“Do you know,” said he one day to the hetman Razoumoffsky, “Do you know that, before “I was Grand-duke, I had a lieutenancy in the service of the King of Prussia?”—“Very well!” replied the Kossac, “your Majesty may now repay the “compliment by making the King of Prussia field-mareschal.”

The ascendant which his Prussian Majesty had acquired over the Czar not only gave umbrage to most of the courtiers, as well as to some of the foreign ministers, but the changes he undertook to effect by no means met with general approbation. Nay some of those changes created him a great number of enemies, and demonstrated, that if he sometimes had good intentions, he was destitute of the illumination, and especially of the character, necessary to the government of a great empire. Amidst projects the most happily conceived he frequently adopted some that were useless and even dangerous. The desire of ameliorating the state of things hurried him on imprudently to hazard premature reform.

It was undoubtedly just and beneficial to diminish the riches of the higher clergy, and to combat prejudice: but at the very commencement of a reign, against which inveterate prepossession had been entertained, and that by a nation superstitious in the extreme, and more than half barbarian, was it wise to irritate a numerous class of men who, from their profession, possessed such a mighty influence over others? What necessity was there to remove from the churches the images of the saints, an object of such profound veneration to Russians? Where was the prudence of incensing all the devotees of the empire

empire by sending into banishment the archbishop of Novogorod, who thought it his duty to oppose that removal? No! this however Peter did; and soon found himself under the necessity of recalling the prelate; and by this new mark of weakness he gave fresh spirit to his enemies, without recovering the good will of the offended papas. These monks diffused over the whole empire a belief that the Emperor had feigned to embrace the communion of the Greek church merely as a step to the throne, but that he was a Lutheran in his heart, of which he gave daily proof, by affecting a rooted contempt for the usages, the ceremonies, and the religion of Russia.

It was recollected at the same time, that he had given orders to build a Lutheran church in his castle of Oranienbaum, at the dedication of which he had assisted in person, by distributing with his own hand books of the Canticles to his Holsteinese soldiers, whereas he had not deigned to enter the Greek church, constructed about nearly the same period. It was said that he had farther outraged the saints, by christening two of his ships of war recently built, the one by the name of his uncle, the *Prince George*, and the other by the name of the King of Prussia, the *Frederick*. It was repeated, in a word, that he never mentioned the Russian nation but in terms of disdain, and the Germans but in the language of respect. All these rumours, accordingly, artfully disseminated, speedily alienated from this Prince the hearts which the first acts of his government had gained.

While others were so easily rendering him an object of suspicion to the people, he himself likewise seemed determined to give disgust to the army. He uniformly gave the preference to the German over the Russian soldiery. He disbanded the noble guard which had formerly seated Elizabeth on the throne; he superseded the horse guards in the duty they per-

formed at court, and substituted his own Holsteinese guard in their room. He introduced the Prussian exercise, which was undoubtedly better than that to which they were accustomed, but it gave offence because they were forced to learn it. He excited murmurs of disaffection in the regiments Ismailoffsky and Preobraginsky, by ordering part of them from the capital to march into Pomerania, and join the army destined against Denmark. He promoted his uncle, Prince George of Holstein, an officer of very slender experience, to the rank of Generalissimo of the Russian armies, and gave him the separate command of the horse guards, a post never occupied but by the chief of the empire. Finally, he had prejudiced his troops against himself to such a degree, that even the most useful arrangement occasioned general discontent. They even went so far as to censure him, because he wanted to distinguish the several regiments by different facings and collars, alleging it was a German fashion, which by no means suited Russia.

But what displeased all parties at once was the design which Peter openly avowed of recovering, by force of arms, the dutchy of Schleswig, of which the crown of Denmark had taken possession, in face of the claim of the Dukes of Holstein. The moment for undertaking this war was, undoubtedly, by no means favourable; but in order to form a fair judgment whether or not Peter's motives merited condemnation, it is necessary to recollect what were his rights.

The King of Denmark and Norway, Frederick II. who filled the throne toward the middle of the sixteenth century, was in possession, independently of his kingdoms, of the dutchies of Holstein and Schleswig, and was desirous that, at his death, his three sons should divide those dutchies among themselves. Christian III. who succeeded him in the throne, accordingly had one share, Prince John another, and Prince Adolphus, a branch of the house of Holstein-Gottorp,

Gottorp, took possession of the rest. These three princes, equally united by blood and friendship, agreed to govern Holstein and Schleswig in common, and this compact was not dissolved even by the death of John, who left no issue. But the heirs of the other two, to whom the same conditions were prescribed, did not all submit to them with cordiality. The Kings of Denmark, more powerful than the Dukes of Holstein, used incessant endeavours to keep them under, and finished their career of oppression by making themselves sole-masters of Schleswig. In vain did the dukes remonstrate against this usurpation, in vain took up arms to resist it. After more than a century of contention, they found themselves solemnly stripped of their claims on Schleswig, by a treaty concluded in 1720, under the mediation of France and England.

Duke Charles of Holstein who, in 1726, espoused one of the daughters of Peter I. and who was the father of Peter III. flattered himself, at first, that Russia would procure a restoration of that part of his inheritance which had been wrested from him by the Danish monarchs; but the death of Catharine I. speedily quashed those hopes. The Emperor Charles VI. in May 1732, concluded a treaty with the King of Denmark, to which the Czarina Anne acceded, and which sanctioned the invasion of the rights of the Duke of Holstein, at the same time obliging the King of Denmark to make him a compensation of a million of crowns, payable within two years, and enjoining the Duke to accept of that payment at the term prescribed, otherwise the Danish monarch to stand released from all farther indemnification. The Duke of Holstein constantly remonstrated against this treaty, and rejected the money when offered in payment. His son, Peter III. imitated his example: and it was in the view of doing himself justice that, on his elevation to the throne of Russia, he made great preparations against the King of Denmark.

But these preparations were as wretchedly conducted as unseasonably undertaken. Peter, who followed rather the impulse of his heart than the dictates of reason, and who had an affection for the hetman Kyrille Razoumoffsky, through ignorance of his perfidy, offered him the command of his army. The hetman had the address to elude this offer by a stroke of pleasantry which ought to have opened the eyes of the Czar to discern the dangers of his enterprise:—"Your Majesty," said he, "must have a second army, 'to make that under my command advance.'"

The King of Prussia, whom Peter with scrupulous exactness informed of every thing he did, frequently gave him his best advice. He endeavoured at first to divert him from his hostile projects against Denmark, and from his purpose of recovering the Dutchy of Schleswig: but finding his resolution unalterable, he counselled him to go, before he engaged in the war, and have himself crowned at Moscow with all the accustomed ceremony and magnificence, and not to march a step to join his army without taking in his suit the foreign ministers, and every Russian of whose fidelity he entertained a suspicion. He likewise recommended to him not to be in a hurry to touch the revenues of the church, and not to meddle with the habiliments of the papas, because these minutiae are always matters of great importance in the eyes of a superstitious people. He advised him, finally, to preserve all the deference and respect which were due to his consort, and above all things to look to his personal safety. There is no room to doubt that Frederick, who was well acquainted with the character of Peter and with that of Catharine, foresaw at a distance every thing which afterward came to pass. Accordingly, in writing to his minister to persevere in maintaining habits of intimacy with the Czar, he charged him to be careful in his attentions to the Empress.

Unhappily for Peter, he did not feel himself bound

to submit in every case to the lessons of the monarch, whom he called his master. He insensibly relapsed into his vicious habits. He frequently passed the day in drinking and smoking, amidst a circle of low court-sycophants, most of whom wished to see him ruined, and bestowed perfidious applause on his whims, and on his most dangerous innovations. Nor was his conduct toward the Empress less extravagantly absurd. At the very moment he was paying homage to the superiority of her genius, he could not suppress the indignation with which her offences inspired him. In the most sacred and magnificent ceremonies observed in Russia, such, for example, as the benediction of the holy water, he made her appear decorated with all the insignia of imperial dignity, and satisfied himself with attending at the head of his retinue, habited as a simple colonel, as if he meant to shew his people that she was formed for reigning, and himself for serving. Nay, at court, he sometimes left her charged with the whole representation of royalty, whereas he himself, dressed in the uniform of his regiment, came and respectfully presented to her his officers, whom he denominated his comrades. Peter I. had formerly acted in like manner toward Catharine I. and his minister Menzikoff; but with the power of resuming the Emperor whenever he pleased. Peter I. possessed the skill of employing means which Peter III. did not.

The apparent favour of the Empress was not, however, of long duration. As soon as the Czar believed himself firmly seated on the throne, he no longer made a secret of his abhorrence of her, and sometimes expressed it in terms the most humiliating. At the rejoicings on occasion of the peace just concluded with the King of Prussia, Peter who, during the display of the fireworks, was seated by the side of Catharine, observing the Countess of Woronzoff, his mistress, passing, called her, and made her sit by him. Catharine immediately retired, without any effort

effort on the part of the Czar to detain her. The same night, at supper, he proposed the health of Prince George of Holstein, and all the company stood up, except Catharine, who pretended a pain in her foot. Peter, provoked that the Empress should dare to fail in the respect which she owed to his uncle, bestowed on her an epithet, perhaps abundantly deserved, but which the Emperor ought not to have applied to his consort. Catharine, humbled at it, could not refrain from shedding tears, and for some time talked in a whisper on the subject of this insult with her chamberlain, Serguei-Alexandrowitz Stroganoff, whom she had the farther mortification of seeing almost immediately put under an arrest. Her tears interested the spectators, and Peter's inconsiderate folly filled them with indignation.

It was by such scenes as these that the Empress felt her hopes revived. She perceived that she should soon obtain the superiority over the Czar, by opposing to his contempt and imprudent frankness, extreme address and circumspection. Her sole study henceforward was to gain the hearts which he lost. Long practised in the arts of dissimulation, it was easy for her to affect in the eyes of the multitude sentiments the most repugnant to her real character. The pupil of the philosophers, she assumed the character of a bigot : she resorted daily to the churches of Peterburgh, praying with all the air of a sincere fervor, strictly conforming to the most superstitious practices of the Greek religion, receiving the poor with every mark of benignity, and treating the papas with much respect, who did not fail in their turn to go from house to house sounding her praise.

In the interior of the palace, the manner of life of the two consorts was no less different. While Peter shut himself up with the Countess de Woronzoff, M. Keith, the Prussian officers, and some of his favourites ; while he was forgetting his rank so far as to live in a state of familiarity with stage-players, admitting

mitting them sometimes even to his table; the Empress held her court with a mixture of dignity and affability which charmed all who approached her: she was particularly careful to attach to herself persons who, by their credit, their courage, or their intrigues, might become useful to her. The imprudent Czar gave umbrage not only to most of his Russian subjects, but to almost all the ministers of foreign courts. The Danish ambassador never appeared in his presence without meeting some token of disrespect; the Austrian minister always met with a cold reception, and the French minister himself, who had enjoyed such high consideration under the preceding reign, soon perceived that the views of Peter were not more favourable to the court of Versailles than to that of Vienna.

Peter had already resolved to conclude with Frederick a particular peace, and an alliance offensive and defensive. For this effect, he sent Goudowitz into Germany, under pretence of announcing to his brother-in-law, the Prince d'Anhalt-Zerbst, his accession to the throne. He at the same time gave Goudowitz secret orders to take Breilau in his way, as he returned, to communicate his intentions to the King of Prussia. Frederick listened with avidity to the overtures of a prince who was sacrificing to him all the benefit that could be derived from the war: for the Russians had already made themselves master of royal Prussia, and the courts of Vienna and Versailles had guaranteed the possession of it to the Empress Elizabeth. So far from being satisfied with evacuating Prussia, Peter earnestly wished that Frederick might speedily be in a condition to turn against the Austrians the army which had assisted them to keep the field against him, and all the return he asked, as a compensation for so many advantages, was the friendship of the Prussian monarch, and an aid of 6000 men against the Danes. The return of Goudowitz to Peterburgh, was followed by the arrival of the

the Count de Schwerin, a person already known to Peter. The King of Prussia sent him thither to assist his minister Goltz in concluding the treaty of peace and alliance offered by the Czar; and the presence and counsels of Schwerin contributed not a little to render this treaty beneficial to Frederick. The British minister, M. Keith, was likewise very useful on this occasion to the King of Prussia, whom he had long been in the habit of supporting in the good graces of Peter.

The Czar had already dispatched his instructions to General Tchernischeff, who commanded the 30,000 Russian auxiliaries in the Austrian army, and who had taken up his winter quarters in Moravia, to re-enter Poland by way of Silesia. By fresh instructions that general was presently after directed to make his troops act in conjunction with those of the King of Prussia, and to conform in all respects to the orders of that Monarch. The Czar did not so much as vouchsafe to inform the courts of Vienna and Versailles, nor their ministers resident at his court, of these important measures. They derived their first intelligence from the gazettes. Some time afterwards, the Russian ambassador at Vienna declared to the Prince de Kaunitz:—"That the Czar, finding the mode of negotiation by a congress too circuitous, had preferred a direct treaty with the King of Prussia; that he was on the eve of making his peace with that Monarch; that he advised the Court of Vienna to follow this example, and that it would be matter of astonishment, should the Empress-queen take offence at the line of conduct he pursued, as the war of Germany was not only foreign to himself, and prejudicial to his interests, but burdensome to his people." This declaration preceded only by a few days the treaty which the Czar concluded, May 5th, with the plenipotentiaries of the King of Prussia.

Peter ordered this peace to be celebrated with all possible

possible magnificence. The rejoicings lasted for several days; he himself appeared in a Prussian uniform, decorated with the order of the black-eagle, which Frederick had sent him; and as if he had intended to make this festivity an occasion of offering a more direct insult to Austria, he invited the ambassador of Maria-Theresa to partake of it, which that minister haughtily rejected. During the whole time of this scene of revelling, scarce a day passed but what Peter terminated by drinking to excess, and those excesses were always accompanied by some act of imprudence. One evening, according to custom, he turned the conversation to his darling subject, Frederick; then looking steadily at the counsellor of state, Wolkoff, who sat opposite to him, he suddenly exclaimed:—"Well, it must be admitted that this same King of Prussia is a magician, a very forcerer! he knew all our plans for conducting the campaign as soon as we had formed them."—Wolkoff, quite disconcerted, could only blush in reply.—Peter says to him:—"Wherefore this embarrassment? Thou hast no longer to fear a journey into Siberia. Is it not true, that with all the terror of it hanging over thy head, thou communicatedst to me all the plans and projects adopted in council, and which I transmitted to his Majesty the King?"

At the issue of almost every scene of rejoicing in celebrating the peace of Russia with Prussia, the Czar, who was sensible how much the ambassador from Vienna must have been irritated, and undoubtedly meaning to give him still more serious ground of offence, sent him a message to this purpose:—"That as the Empress-queen alone threw obstacles in the way of a general pacification, prompted by a spirit of insatiable ambition, and by an unjust desire of recovering Silesia and the county of Glatz, so solemnly ceded to Prussia, he had resolved to send 20,000 men more into Germany, to constrain Maria-Theresa to renounce her illegitimate pretensions."

"fions."—Every thing seemed to announce that this was not likely to prove an empty menace. The King of Prussia already flattered himself that fresh succours would speedily join the Russians now marching under his standard, and such were, in fact, the intentions of the Czar. But a sudden catastrophe rendered abortive the hopes of Frederick, and totally changed the face of the court of Russia.

Amidst his warlike preparations, his plans of reform undertaken, but scarcely ever executed, and his useless banquettings, Peter was not unmindful of the Countess of Woronzoff; he permitted her, on the contrary, daily to acquire new empire over him. That young woman, destitute of every thing like address, but stupidly proud, and under the influence of an ambitious and crafty father, had the art of procuring from the Czar, sometimes by flattery, sometimes by chiding, and sometimes even by carrying her insolence so far as to beat him, a renewal of the promise which he had already made her, while he was only Grand-duke, conformably to which he was to marry her, and place her instead of Catharine on the throne of Russia. Elevated by this hope, she had the indiscretion to make a boast of it, and that indiscretion proved her destruction. While her father and a few courtiers devoted to her interest, were at work to smooth her path to the throne, rival interests innumerable, which both her present credit and future aggrandizement rendered inimical to the Czar, and partisans to the Empress, were, as if by concert, employing every possible means of excluding her from it. Peter, fully as indiscreet as the Countess de Woronzoff, seemed by his conduct to authorize the rumours which she disseminated, and he hardly any longer made a secret of his intention to repudiate Catharine, and to declare the young Grand-duke, Paul Petrowitz, a bastard. He resolved, however, to clothe this act of despotism with an appearance of justice; and he believed, that by producing complete evidence

evidence of Catharine's infidelities, his proceedings against her would meet with approbation; not only among his own subjects, but all over Europe.

The Countess de Woronzoff, informed by the old senator, her father, of the first loves of the Empress and Soltikoff, had taken care long before to have the Czar made acquainted with them, and this it was which determined him to illegitimate and disinherit her son. He recalled to Petersburg that Soltikoff, who, since Elizabeth had shewn herself so weak as to dare less to punish than to reward in him the audacity of having defiled his master's bed, had carried from Hamburg to Madrid, his title of minister, his want of conduct, and his opprobrious character. Peter loaded him with caresses and benefits, and did every thing in his power to draw from him an authentic confession of the criminal intercourse which he had formerly kept up with Catharine. The whole court perceived clearly that Soltikoff, allured by the prospect of a splendid recompense, or intimidated by the terror of exemplary chastisement, would do whatever the Czar wished, and Peter himself hoped, not without reason, that his ancient chamberlain would be unable to resist his importunity. He was now restrained but by one consideration, the difficulty of fixing upon his successor.

Though this Prince lived publicly with the Countess de Woronzoff, though he had frequent interviews with a pretty dancing girl of the theatre of Petersburg, though, in a word, he affected to be engaged in a variety of adventures in gallantry, he was not perhaps a whit the nearer the creation of an heir. The operation to which he had submitted in the first years of his marriage, removed an obstacle without supplying the necessary means. Nature had inspired him with an ardent passion for the sex; paroxysms of desire incessantly overtook him, but every thing seemed to assure him they would remain for ever unproductive. Persuaded of the full extent

extent of his misfortune, and wishing nevertheless to elevate some one to the place of Paul Petrowitz, he suddenly conceived a very singular project. He resolved to adopt Prince Ivan, whom Elizabeth had dethroned, to declare him his successor, and to make him marry the young Princess of Holstein-Beck, who was then at Peterburgh, and whom he loved as a daughter. Peter accordingly had himself secretly conducted to Schlusselfburgh, with an intention to pay a visit to Prince Ivan, without discovering to the young man who he himself was, that he might form a judgment whether he were worthy of the advantages to which he destined him.

We have already seen that Ivan III. was still in the cradle, when the revolution which, in 1741, placed Elizabeth on the throne, shut him up with the regent Anne his mother, and his whole family, in the fortress of Schlusselfburgh. From thence Ivan was conveyed, as well as his kindred, to the fortress of Riga, where they remained eighteen months. From Riga they were carried to Dunamounde, and afterwards to Oranienburgh, a city built by Menzikoff, in the cold province of Woronetz. At this place Ivan was separated from his family, who were thence transported to Kolmogor. A monk, who had access to Ivan's prison, carried him off from Oranienburgh, with a design to conduct him into Germany; but was stopped at Smolensko. On this Ivan was immured in a monastery within the city of Waldaï, at no great distance from the high road between Peterburgh and Moscow. The Empress Elizabeth having an inclination to see him, in 1756, had him carried back to Schlusselfburgh, where he had been confined on his dethronement. They conducted him with great secrecy to Peterburgh, to the house of Peter Schouwaloff, where Elizabeth had two interviews with him, but without discovering herself. Ivan was then about sixteen years old; he was tall, had a very interesting figure, a superb head of hair, and a voice
of

of singular sweetness. Elizabeth shed abundance of tears as she conversed with him; but this did not prevent his being reconveyed to the gloomy dungeon whither Peter went to visit him six years afterwards.

The Emperor chose to be accompanied on this excursion only by the boyard Leon Alexandrowitz Narischkin, his grand master of the horse; the baron Ungern-Sternberg, one of his aids-de-camp general; the Baron de Korff, master of police at Peterburgh; and the counsellor of state Wolkoff. He had provided himself with an order signed by his own hand, enjoining the commandant to permit the bearers to walk without interruption over every part of the fortrefs, without excepting even the spot to which Prince Ivan was confined, and to allow them to converse with him in private. Peter had, besides, taken care to conceal the insignia of his rank, and recommended to Leon Narischkin, who was tall and finely formed, to deport himself so as to pass for the Emperor. But whether by chance, or whether he read the truth in the eyes of some of the company, Ivan did not mistake the person of the Czar. After having for some time surveyed the strangers who had just entered his apartment, he suddenly threw himself at Peter's feet. "Czar," said he, "you are master here. I will not importune you with a long prayer, but mitigate the severity of my lot. I have sighed away many years in this dungeon. The only favour I ask is, that I may be permitted from time to time to breathe a purer air."—Peter was extremely affected by these words.—"Rise, Prince," said he to Ivan, stroking him gently on the shoulder; "dismiss all anxiety about the future. I will do every thing in my power to render your situation more agreeable.—But tell me, Prince, have you any recollection of the distresses you underwent from your earliest years?"—"I have hardly any idea," replied Ivan, "of those which assailed my infancy; but from the moment that I began

“to be sensible of my misfortune, I never ceased to
 “mingle my tears with those of my father and my
 “mother, who were wretched only on my account ;
 “and my greatest misery was to see the barbarous
 “treatment they suffered, as we were hurried from
 “one prison to another.” “How ! whence proceeded
 “that unkind treatment ?” demanded the Czar.—
 “From the officers who conducted us,” replied Ivan,
 “and who were always the most inhuman of man-
 “kind.”—“Do you recollect the names of those offi-
 “cers ?” says Peter.—“Alas !” replied the young
 Prince, “we had no curiosity to procure information.
 “We satisfied ourselves with giving thanks to heaven
 “on our bended knees, when those monsters were
 “replaced by officers less ferocious.”—“What !”
 exclaimed the Emperor, “did you never meet with
 “any who possessed humanity ?” “One alone de-
 “serves to be distinguished from this herd of ti-
 “gers,” said Ivan ; “he carried with him our escien-
 “and our regret. His goodness, his generous atten-
 “tions shall never be effaced from my memory.”—
 “And you do not so much as know the name of
 “that worthy man ?”—eagerly demanded Peter.
 “Oh, yes, I remember it very well,” replied Ivan ;
 “his name is Korff.”

This very Baron Korff was, as has been already
 mentioned, one of the Czar’s retinue. He melted
 into tears as he listened to this detail ; and Peter,
 no less affected, laid hold of his arm, and said to
 him in a voice almost stifled with emotion :—“Ba-
 “ron, see how a good action is never thrown away !”

In order to recover from his emotion, Peter went
 out with Korff, Narischkin and Wolkoff, leaving
 the Baron d’Ungern-Sternberg alone with Ivan.—
 “How then came you hither, Prince ?” said Ungern-
 Sternberg to him—“Who is able,” replied Ivan,
 “to take sufficient precaution against the *razboïnika*
 “(highwaymen) ! One day, an order from I do not
 “know whom comes to the prison where I was with
 “my

“ my family. The razboïniks burst into our domestic circle, and tore me away from the only persons I knew in the world, and who alone had gained my tenderness and confidence, I mean my father, my mother, my brothers and my sisters. Oh, how many tears have I shed over them ! and how must they have lamented, if they are still in life, the death of their son and their brother ! ” — “ What do you believe will be the fate of our new Emperor ? ” demanded the Baron. “ If I may judge from the idea which I have formed of the Russians,” said Ivan, “ it will not be more fortunate than my own. My father and mother have frequently repeated to me, that foreign Princes will always be hated and dethroned by the perfidious and haughty Russians.”

The Czar now returned with Narischkin, Korff, Wolkoff, and accompanied by the commandant, to whom he said, in the presence of Ivan : “ I order you to give the Prince, from this moment forward, every assistance he may please to ask of you, and to permit him from time to time to walk abroad in the great square of the fortress. I will send you, in writing, more particular orders, conformably to which you will henceforth regulate your conduct toward his sacred person.” On quitting Ivan’s apartment, the Emperor run over the interior of the fortress; and after having examined the spot of ground which appeared to him commodious for the construction of an edifice proper to lodge the prisoner, he directed the commandant to set the workmen agoing, and added : — “ I will have it a pavilion of nine casements in front, and that the rest of the area may be laid out into a garden where he may take the air, and find some mitigation of the rigour which still renders his confinement necessary. As soon as the pavilion is completed, I will come myself and put the Prince in possession.”

In all probability the Czar held this language to the commandant of Schlusfelburgh, merely to pre-

vent that officer's penetrating into his real intentions; for what occasion could there otherwise have been to issue orders for the construction of a new prison for him whom he destined to the throne? This prison had besides, it is said, a very different object. Her consort, it was thought, designed this prison for Catharine herself. Before his departure from Schlusſelburgh, Peter once more revisited the Prince in his dungeon; he then returned to Petersburg, where no one entertained any suspicion of the extraordinary interview which had just taken place, and much less still of what he was meditating in favour of Ivan. When Prince George of Holstein, the Emperor's uncle, got information of the visit which that Monarch had paid to Ivan, he advised him to send the young Prince back to Germany, as well as Duke Anthony of Brunswick, his father, and the rest of his family. Peter, who did not wish his uncle should dive into his project, affected to approve of his advice; but satisfied himself, for the moment, with ordering Ivan to be escorted to the fortress of Kexholm, built in a little island of the lake Ladoga, and at a much greater distance; and from thence, had him secretly conducted to Petersburg. What cannot but force itself on observation, upon this occasion, is, that a strange fatality seemed to pursue throughout the unfortunate Ivan; for, when they were conducting him from Schlusſelburgh, on board a galley which was to land him at Kexholm, a tempest, which arose suddenly, had almost swallowed up the boat in which he was embarked.

Meanwhile the imprudences of the Czar daily re-animated the hopes of Catharine, and the designs which he had formed against her, part of which were but too well known, emboldened her to risk every thing in the way of prevention. Banished to Petershoff, and lodged in one of the most retired and least conspicuous apartments of that palace, she passed her days in meditating the project of precipitating her
consort

consort from the throne, and her nights in the arms of a lover whom she had contrived to render the most intrepid of conspirators. Ever since the dismissal of Count Poniatowsky, she had the address to make herself appear, in the eyes of the most observant of her court, faithful to her passion for that Polander; but she indemnified herself sufficiently in secret for the absence of him whom she affected to love with undivided tenderness. To keep up the mistake of those who had a vigilant eye upon her conduct, she was under the twofold motive of interesting them in favour of an unfortunate passion, and of throwing a veil over her secret indulgences. All her friends themselves were the dupes of her artifice. Breteuil, who assumed the credit of being very clear-sighted, and of possessing the entire confidence of Catharine, believed her so constant in her affection for Poniatowsky, that he degraded his character as minister of France, so far as to convey to her, with his own hand, all the letters of that lover, and to take charge of her answers. The Princess d'Aschkoff herself knew not that she was under the influence of any other love but that of study and of Poniatowsky, and she had already been deeply engaged in a conspiracy, in concert with Orloff, long before she entertained any surmise that he was so much as known to the Empress. The only person, in a word, who was in the secret of her amorous intrigues, and who conducted them throughout, was one of her women named Catharine Ivanowna, the most dextrous of confidants, and the least scrupulous of duennas. She conducted herself with so much address, that the gallants whom she introduced to her mistress, enjoyed almost always the favours of that Princess, without knowing who she was. Orloff did not long continue in this state of ignorance; he acquired too great an ascendant over her to admit of deferring a discovery of her quality.

Gregory Orloff possessed the advantages neither of birth nor of education, but he had received from nature some of the happiest endowments, beyond all doubt, courage and manly beauty. Grandson of a strelitz who, in the grand execution at Moscow, was on the point of losing his head by the axe of Peter I. when his apathetic composure induced that Prince to spare his life, Gregory served in the artillery, while two of his brothers were only common soldiers in the guards. Count Peter Schouwaloff, grand-master of the ordnance, a man vain and stately, wished to have the handsomest of his officers for aid-de-camp, and made choice of Gregory Orloff. He had likewise for his mistress one of the most illustrious and most beautiful women at court, the Princess Kourakin, who speedily notified to the aid-de-camp that she preferred him to his general. But unfortunately the general, who surprized them together, forbid Orloff his presence, and threatened to employ all his influence to have him banished to Siberia. This adventure took place toward the close of Elizabeth's reign, and made some noise. It became a subject of conversation both at court and in the city, and the report of it reached the retreat to which Catharine had been obliged to condemn herself. Curiosity, perhaps compassion, inspired her with an inclination to know the young officer whose misfortune she had heard of. Ivanowna procured her a sight of him, with all the accustomed precautions, and Orloff, without guessing, at first, who the beauty was that interested herself in his fate, found in her many more charms, and a much greater ardor of affection, than in the Princess Kourakin. This first and mysterious interview was followed by many others, in which Catharine discovered tenderness only; but when she believed herself fully assured of the intrepidity and discretion of her lover, she unfolded to him her ambitious designs. Orloff on this formed with her a conspiracy;

in which he soon engaged his brothers, his intimate friend Bibikoff, Lieutenant Passeck, and other officers, by means of whom he gained over some companies of the guards, but without discovering what was really his project.

Catharine was as yet Grand-dutcheß only, when her attachment to Orloff commenced, and her intrigue with him was not the only one which she conducted with equal address and good fortune. Several other officers, beside various persons of her court, had partaken of her favours; but as she did not find in them the devotedness and the genius which were necessary to her, she was satisfied with securing their friendship, but did not impart to them her secret. Lieutenant-general Villebois was one of those whom that Princess distinguished the most; and when he obtained the command of the artillery, on the death of the general who discarded Orloff, she prevailed with him to bestow the post of captain-paymaster to his corps on that favourite. Villebois did whatever she desired, without once suspecting that he brought forward a preferred rival.

On her mounting the throne, Catharine continued to be nevertheless the powerful though invisible directress of the faction of the grantees, the remains of those conspirators at the head of whom Bestuscheff and the Schouwaloffs had successively appeared, and of which the hetman Kyrille Razoumoffsky, Prince Wolkonsky, nephew of the exiled Bestuscheff, and major-general of the guards, with Count Panin, were the firmest supports. Finally, she had the address to form a third conspiracy, managed by the young Princess d'Aschkoff, and which always shewed itself, if not the most formidable, at least the most active and impetuous. The partisans of those three factions acted, moreover without the privacy of each other, and Catharine, who animated the whole, seemed to take no part in their cabals.

The Princess d'Aschkoff, returned for some time past from Moscow, where her husband had detained her in a species of exile, did not feel herself disposed to enter into the views of her family, who wished to see her supersede her sister in the good graces of the Czar. That sister was better adapted to the military taste of Peter, and Madame d'Aschkoff had occasion for a lover who could do something more than drink and smoke tobacco. She from that time formed a close intimacy with Catharine. They passed whole days together, employed in literature and intrigue; and when the Empress was relegated to Petershoff, the Princess remained at Petersburg, the better to promote her interest. She then engaged in a correspondence by letters with the Empress, wherein she gave her an account of every thing that passed at court or in the capital, and suggested the means requisite to defeat the Czar's purposes.

The attachment which the Princess d'Aschkoff had vowed to Catharine was not the only motive which stimulated her to serve that Princess. She was particularly jealous of the glory which awaited her sister; and neither the menaces of that sister and of her father, nor the authority of the chancellor, her uncle, in whose house she had been brought up, had power to detach her from a party, at the head of which, such was the silly pride she indulged, she thought herself placed. She had studied languages, and read a great many foreign books, during her residence at Moscow, which inflamed her natural vanity, and led her to despise the ignorance of her compatriots. Flattering herself, in a word, with possessing the capacity to direct a conspiracy, she braved with a high hand the resentments of her family; she would have braved death with equal intrepidity.

The Princess d'Aschkoff had for some time been attended by a Piedmontese of the name of Odart, whom want, and the desire of making a fortune, had attracted

attracted to **Petersburgh**, and who confirmed her taste for French literature, by making her acquainted with the best authors of that nation. Odart was so much the more valuable to Princess d'Aschkoff, that he united, like herself, a relish for polite learning with the genius of intrigue. She was incessantly boasting of being possessed of a man to whom she felt herself indebted for her own superiority, and spoke of him to the Empress in terms so advantageous that she was earnest to attach him to her interest, and bestowed on him the title of her private secretary.

In a short time this supple and insinuating secretary became one of the confidants, not of the amorous intrigues of Catharine, but of her projects of ambition. A witness of the mortifications to which that Princess was subjected, of the farther humiliation which threatened her, he perceived clearly that there was no other way to escape but the downfall of the Emperor. But how was this downfall to be accomplished? How muster up the courage requisite to such an enterprise? Odart perceived all the difficulties, all the danger of it; but he likewise knew, that if torture and death threatened on one side, riches and honour allured on the other. Money was the only deity which Odart worshipped: his choice was accordingly soon determined. He immediately addressed himself to the Princess d'Aschkoff, who, sharing in advance his audacious ideas, was excessively flattered to find in a man whose talents she esteemed, an accomplice worthy of herself. Ah! with what hopes did not these two puny and insolent conspirators then intoxicate themselves? What did they not promise themselves they should obtain, could they but subvert the master of one of the greatest empires in the world? Odart believed that an immense fortune must be the reward of his services; the Princess imagined that the whole universe would never cease to speak of her, and that her own glory would

would rise far above the glory even of her friend, whom she wished to render sole mistress of the throne.

But the execution of a project so vast required means more efficacious than vain illusions and unprolific desires. Much more was necessary than a woman of eighteen years old and an unknown adventurer. Accordingly, when Odart and Madame d'Aschkoff had amused themselves sufficiently with contemplating the magnificent recompense at which they grasped, they began to think of the method to procure soldiers; money, which always makes sure of soldiers; a chief whose name and authority might have a commanding influence over them; a man especially who, habituated to manage courtiers, to conduct intrigues, was neither to be embarrassed by obstacles nor intimidated by cross incidents. On this they turned their eyes toward the hetman Kyrylle Razoumoffsky and Count Panin.

The great credit which the hetman had enjoyed under the reign of Elizabeth, and the familiarity with which he was treated by Peter III. which he contrived to support, gave him a very powerful influence at court; and his prodigious wealth, which enabled him to indulge himself in continual acts of liberality to a multitude of needy officers and soldiers, secured him many friends in the army. He occupied one of the first places in the empire. He did not greatly esteem Catharine, whose genius he prized not very highly, and whose irregularities he had observed: he was aware of the danger of an attempt to dethrone the Czar, but he was always animated with the spirit of his ancient party. When the Princess d'Aschkoff communicated to him her designs, the hetman applauded them, and without appearing to take a direct part in the business, assured her of his support when occasion might require. It was thus that when Orloff presented himself a few days after at his house, to sound his inclinations, he gave him
all

all encouragement to oppose the designs which the Emperor meditated against his consort, and told him at the same time, that those who should defend that Princess might rely on his joining them. The hetman kept the secret from Orloff as he had from Madame d'Aschkoff, and satisfied with beholding two new factions put in motion, he resolved within himself to support them with all the power of his own. Razoumoffsky went still farther. He immediately assembled his friends, and without unfolding to them precisely the double project which had been confided to him, he told them that to his certain knowledge a design was on foot among the troops to dethrone the Czar, and that if they did not make haste to declare themselves the chiefs of it, the only alternative that remained was to become the forced instruments of the soldiery, or perhaps their victims. On this they demanded of him what they were to do;—"Stand by me the moment that the conspiracy breaks out," replied the hetman, "and leave it to me to raise you to the rank to which your birth, your fortune, and your talents, give you a just title. The blind intrepidity of certain obscure conspirators is going to strike the first blow. Let us carefully watch the moment of it. If they succeed, our dextrous interposition must reap the fruit. Do you feel resolved sufficiently to follow my example?" They all swore to it, and the assembly separated, in expectation of the terrible event which flattered at once hatred and ambition.

Secure of the co-operation of Razoumoffsky, the Princess d'Aschkoff and Odart employed all their skill to engage Count Panin in their party, and Catharine recommended to them to neglect nothing that could make this point good. She well knew, that if the name and presence of the hetman was to produce a decided effect in the first moments of the revolt, the experience and ability of Panin were still more necessary to prepare its success. He alone pos-
sessed

lessed the power of artfully tempering the outrageous vanity of Princess d'Aschkoff; of exciting, inflaming the hatred and vengeance of Razoumoffsky; of giving direction to the greedy and servile ambition of Odart; and of apparently justifying the conspiracy by involving in it the name of the young Paul Petrowitz, his pupil. The Princess d'Aschkoff therefore charged Odart to propose to Panin an association with them; and, Panin, instigated by a motive still more powerful than that of serving the Empress and the Grand-duke, promised to do what the Princess desired.

All this was still too little for Madame d'Aschkoff. She addressed herself directly to the Prince Wolkonsky, major-general of the guards, Wolkonsky, instructed in the arts of intrigue by his kinsman Bestusheff, and the heir of his hatred to Peter, Wolkonsky, whose ambition longed for a change of government, and who flattered himself with soon playing the first part in the new faction, was not more deaf to persuasion than Panin and Razoumoffsky.

The Archbishop of Novogorod was gained over in like manner. He was reckoned upon even before any overture was made him. The Emperor had just recalled him from the exile to which he had been a few months before condemned; but the prelate, more irritated by the severity of his sovereign than melted by his clemency, only waited for an opportunity of signalizing his holy resentment. Superstition furnished him with ample means to this effect. He was well acquainted with the stupid zeal of the Russians in behalf of every thing pertaining to the Greek religion, and the swarms of monks whom he had under absolute control, continued, under the pretext of defending that religion, to infuse into all hearts their own hatred of a Prince who seemed to have imprudently declared himself its enemy.

The Princess d'Aschkoff wished likewise to make sure of part of the army. She was acquainted with
many

many of the officers; she made a feint of paying them a visit of politeness merely, and frequented the barracks. Orloff met her there. It was not difficult to come to an explanation. They were presently of one mind; and without suspecting that Orloff was known to Catharine, Princess d'Aschkoff found in him more than one accomplice. In the belief that she alone had gained over Gregory Orloff, the Princess flattered herself that she had likewise gained, through his means, the two brothers of that conspirator, not less handsome, not less daring than himself, and of a strength of body and a brutality of manners which rendered them formidable even to their friends. She at the same time strengthened her party by the accession of several other officers or soldiers whom Orloff had long been preparing for rebellion; and when Odart imagined he was communicating the first intelligence of these successes to the Empress, that mistress in the art of dissimulation, who got an account of every thing from her lover in their nocturnal interviews, took care not to undeceive her secretary, and offend the vanity of Madame d'Aschkoff.

One traitor alone stood in no need of solicitation; that very Gleboff whom the Czar had raised from the lowest practice of law chicane to the important post of procurator-general of the senate. The perfidious monster concluded that his master would not be able to maintain his ground against the host of foes who were preparing to attack him, and, adding cruelty to ingratitude, he resolved to contribute to his ruin, in order to make an advantage of it. He was on the look-out then for a conspiracy to which he might attach himself, and the moment he got scent of that which Odart and Princess d'Aschkoff were concerting, he went and offered them his services.

The conspirators were farther certain of being joined, on the first signal, by all the partisans of the courts of Vienna, of Versailles and of Copenhagen, who

who were not few in number. The ministers of those courts had frequently the skill, in order to acquire partisans, to be profuse of both money and flattery; and if there be a Russian proof against flattery, there is not one capable of resisting the temptation of gold.

The object of those who conspired against Peter was to dethrone him, but they were by no means unanimous as to the mode of accomplishing their purpose. Panin, Razoumoffsky, Orloff, thought it would be proper to begin with carrying him off from Peterhoff, at the conclusion of one of the revels which could not fail to take place, when he came thither to celebrate the festival of St. Peter. Panin and some others of the conspirators had even gone to take an exact survey of his apartment, in order the more easily to secure his person. Lieutenant Pasheck, the most ferocious, the most barbarous of Russians, claimed it as his province to stab him in the midst of his court; and notwithstanding the prohibition which Panin laid him under on the subject, he went with one of his comrades, named Baschkakoff, to lie in ambush two days running, in expectation of his passing to the little palace of wood where Peter I. lived, when he laid the foundation of Peterburgh: during these two days Peter III. happened not to go that way. But if the conspirators differed as to the means of dethroning the Czar, they were still less of one mind respecting the manner of supplying his place. Catharine's intention was to assume the sole possession of sovereign authority. This pretension was supported by Orloff and the Princess d'Aschkoff. Panin wished, on the contrary, that she should conduct the government with the title of regent only, but that the name of Emperor should be conferred on the Grand-duke Paul Petrowitz. The hetman Razoumoffsky, who saw in that young Prince more than the son of the sovereigns, was of the same opinion.

In

In a long conference at which these different pretensions were discussed, and in which the principal conspirators assisted, Panin had the courage thus to address Catharine:—"I am aware, Madam, of all that you wish, of all that you can do; but I know likewise at what point your ambition ought to stop. You have said a hundred times, while only Grand-duchesses, that you aspired after no higher title than that of mother to the Emperor. Why then should you not rest satisfied with a title so illustrious? Your intention now is to put aside your son from the succession to the throne of Russia, but what right have you to mount it alone? Are you descended from the blood of the Czars? Was you even born in their empire? Can you imagine that the ancient and warlike Muscovitish nation will ever acknowledge, as their sovereign, a Countess of Anhalt? Can you believe they will ever cease from conspiring to restore the descendants of Peter I. one of whom they will behold languishing at the foot of the throne, while the rest shall continue to sigh away a miserable existence in gloomy dungeons? Ah! Madam, cease from demanding more than you ought to obtain. Consider that your greatest felicity is to escape the imminent danger which threatens you, and that the only means of justifying our rash enterprise, is to make it appear that you are less concerned about yourself than about your son!"

The conspirators, penetrated with the firmness, with the good sense of this address, remained silent. Orloff trembled. Catharine herself was for some time deprived of the power of speech. At length she thus replied to Panin:—"Count, there is much force in your reasoning, nevertheless it has not produced conviction on my mind. I am, as you are, well acquainted with the character of the Russians. We cannot accordingly be ignorant that, provided they are governed, they trouble themselves very
" little

" little about the origin of those who govern them.
" When the hand which rules the nation presses
" heavily upon it, that nation knows only to obey.
" Menzikoff, Biren, Munich, furnish so many proofs
" of this. But it is not thus that I intend to reign ;
" but on the contrary with gentleness, with justice,
" and in such a manner as to prevent all pretext for
" the slightest discontent. But you who talk to me
" of murmurings, of rebellions, can you have for-
" gotten that rebellion almost always breaks out dur-
" ing the period of regencies ? Would we ever have
" thought of that in which we are now embarked,
" had Peter III. been capable of holding the reins
" of government with a steady hand ? You are alarm-
" ed about my son : but would you rather abandon
" him to the disposal of a capricious father, by whom
" he is already disowned, than entrust his lot to a
" mother who loves him ? And if I aim at supreme
" authority, is it not to secure the felicity of that
" child ? Is it not to have it more in my power to re-
" compensate all those who, like you, assist me to de-
" fend him ? Ah ! beyond all doubt, they may every
" one reckon on my eternal gratitude ; but in order
" to demonstrate it in the way I wish, I must needs
" have the ability to do so, and this is a power which
" I expect from your hands."

Panin was by no means persuaded ; opinions were divided, and the conspirators remained unsettled as to the precise line of conduct they were to pursue. It was easy to perceive that Panin wished to place his pupil on the throne merely in the hope of securing to himself the second place in the empire, and of governing under his name. Catharine was too sagacious not to have detected this motive long before. She accordingly had given Panin secret assurances that she would appoint him prime minister ; but she took care not to confirm that promise to him in presence of the other conspirators, for fear of wounding the ambition of some of them.

The

The Princess d'Aschkoff, Orloff, Odart, all those who wished to invest Catharine with supreme power, emulously employed all their skill in devising the means of shaking Panin's resolution, but it was long before they could find any; and they undoubtedly must have failed, had not ambition been combatted by a passion less terrible indeed, but much more powerful. Love had already procured for Catharine the most valiant, the most daring of her partisans: love procured to another woman the advantage of vanquishing him whom the Empress herself had not been able to bring over to her opinion. The necessity which the business of the conspiracy laid Panin under of frequently conversing with Princess d'Aschkoff, the wit, the vivacity, the petulance of that young woman, every thing in short had inspired him with a violent affection for her. He did not long delay a declaration of his passion, which she received with a coldness that left him no hope of success. It was not, however, the virtue of Madame d'Aschkoff which repelled the addresses of Panin. Several other well-known lovers had already experienced that she was not invincible. But the age, the formal air of Panin, the intimate connection which he was known to have had with the mother of Princess d'Aschkoff, and above all the lively and undisguised preference which she gave to another, prevented her admitting the addresses of the governor, who, remaining henceforward silent on the subject of his passion, seemed to take pleasure in thwarting every thing proposed by her who was the object of it.

The subtle and vigilant Odart alone perceived the secret motive of Panin's opposition, and immediately conceived hopes of overcoming it. He flew to Madame d'Aschkoff, and having obtained from her own mouth a confirmation that his suspicions were not ill-founded, he spoke to her with all the liberty of a zealous confidant and of an accomplice, who, like herself, bid daily defiance to exile and death. Eman-

icipated from every prejudice, or rather incapable of setting a value on any one virtue, Odart had the assurance to make a jest of the scruples which restrained the Princess d'Aschkoff. Afterwards, assuming a more serious air, he represented to her, that if she believed it a crime to comply with Panin's solicitations, that crime would be ennobled by the motive which induced her to commit it. He put her in mind of the sentiment by which she was united to the Empress, and told her, that friendship being the first of virtues, no sacrifice ought to be regarded when a friend was to be served. Finally, he displayed the triumph of heroism in the disgraceful act which was to render her charms subservient to her ambition. Princess d'Aschkoff, whose romantic brain was easily heated, believed every word that Odart said, did every thing that Panin wished, and Catharine had no longer any obstacles to fear on the part of that conspirator.

The partisans being now all of one mind, nothing remained but to put their project in execution. There were leaders in abundance, but they wanted soldiers. It was necessary therefore to gain over the guards, at once to deprive the Emperor of that support, and to transfer it to themselves. The Orloffs, Bibikoff, Passeck, had already seduced three companies of the regiment of Ismaïloff; but that number was far from being sufficient, and there was no hope of corrupting others but by dint of money. The Empress had none to give, being hardly furnished with the means of defraying the daily expenditure of her household. In concert with Princess d'Aschkoff, she employed Odart to negotiate a loan with M. de Breteuil. That minister, for a long time the confidant and the dupe of the Empress, was then preparing to leave Petersburg. He knew well enough that a conspiracy was going forward, but was totally unacquainted with its moving springs and with its resources; he entertained doubts about the issue; and when Odart told him that

that Catharine wished the King of France to lend her 60,000 roubles, he hesitated whether he should advance that paltry sum. Fearful at once of wounding Catharine's self-love by a peremptory refusal, and of trusting too far to the assertions of Odart, whom he considered as a presumptuous adventurer, he told him to assure the Empress that it would give pleasure to the King his master to give her on this occasion a proof of his attachment, and that he would immediately impart her wishes to his sovereign. He at the same time composed the form of a note which he committed to Odart, that she might copy it with her own hand and send it back. The note was conceived in these terms:—"I have charged the bearer of this billet to bid you in my name farewell, and to entreat you to execute a small commission for me, which I beg you would dispatch as soon as possible."

The Piedmontese believing that the Empress would not hesitate about writing such a billet, promised M. de Breteuil to procure it; but that Princess, sensibly hurt at the mistrust of the French minister, at the delay he employed, and at thought of the dependence under which he wished to place her on a court which she detested, did not deign to make any reply, and M. de Breteuil having seen several days elapse without any communication through the medium of Odart, left Russia and repaired to Vienna, where he received, from Versailles, news of the success of the conspiracy, and orders to return to the court of Catharine. In the first pressure of necessity she had condescended to borrow of M. de Breteuil; but wishing afterwards to make him feel that she could do without him, she seized the moment of his departure to address a note to him, which Odart secretly delivered to the *chargé d'affaires* Berenger, containing these words:—"The negotiation proposed will be assuredly accomplished; and soon, but on much better terms: we have therefore no occasion to ap-

"ply to other resources." She did not say that an English merchant, named Welden, had accommodated her with a loan of 100,000 roubles, a piece of service on which his country has had frequent occasion to congratulate herself.

Catharine was, nevertheless, at this moment in a most terrible situation. The fear of beholding her projects detected, the still more dreadful apprehension of being prevented, hurled from the throne, flung up for life, and the embarrassments of an advanced pregnancy, rendered her a prey to the most lively emotions of anxiety. Whatever care she had taken to conceal that pregnancy, it was impossible to escape the observation of every eye. The Czar had been apprised of it and resolved to surprise her; but he came too late; and on entering the apartment of the Empress, he found her sitting on a sofa, where she had been delivered, a few hours before, with the assistance of Ivanowna, of the load which exposed her to danger the most alarming. Peter, imposed on by the composed tranquillity of his consort, believed she had been calumniated, and after a few unmeaning compliments took his leave, and returned to Petersburg. This Prince appeared at that time entirely abandoned to his pleasures, but he nevertheless bent his attention to the case of the ill-fated Ivan, and to his military preparations. After having ordered to convey the young Prince to Kexholm, he had him conducted in a very private manner to Petersburg, to a house of mean appearance, whither he went to visit him by night, in company with Goudowitz and Wolkoff.

The fleet destined to act against Denmark was equipped, and one division lay at Cronstadt, while the rest waited in readiness to join it at Revel. The regiments which were to follow him in this expedition were already in Pomerania, the others were on their march thither. In a word, he was ready to put himself at the head of his army to invade Holstein. What
seemed

seemed to flatter him the most in attempting this conquest, was the opportunity it would afford him of an interview with him whom he called his friend, his brother and his model, the King of Prussia. In expectation of this felicity, he treated the envoy of that monarch with a degree of distinction and complaisance which Frederick himself could well have dispensed with: but the envoy was a young man, and perhaps presumed too far on the attention paid him by the Emperor. Peter had fixed his departure for the day after the festival of St. Peter, which he was going to celebrate at Petershoff, and at the conclusion of which he proposed to have the Empress arrested. But that lady had the skill to prevent him. Her party only waited the moment of acting, and chance accelerated that moment.

BOOK IV.

The Conspirators prepare to put in Execution their Project of dethroning the Czar—The Arrest of Passèck hastens this Execution—Catharine II. is acknowledged as Empress by the Regiments of Guards, and orders herself to be crowned in the principal Church of Petersburgh—The Troops gained over by the Conspirators advance against Peter—Irrésolution and extreme weakness of that Prince—He surrenders to Catharine—He is poisoned and strangled—Consequences of his Death.

THOSE who conduct a conspiracy always employ more zeal, vigilance and activity, than the person against whom it is directed. The friends of Catharine, accordingly, had punctual information of every thing that passed about the Czar, while he remained in total ignorance respecting their proceed-

ings. Waiting for the festival of St. Peter, that Prince, lulled into a state of thoughtless security, had gone to pass a few days at his summer palace of Oranienbaum, carrying with him several beautiful women of his court. It was currently reported that he had an intention to insist on getting those ladies divorced, as a preparation for their marrying his favourites; nay, it is said he went so far as to order beds to be fitted up for the accommodation of the proposed weddings: hence shame, indignation, jealousy, raised him a new host of foes, and threw into Catharine's scale so many warm partisans.

Without being entirely in the secret of the conspiracy, several persons who perceived that something was going forward against the Czar, gave him warning of it, but could not persuade him to prevent the traitors. It has already been mentioned, that the King of Prussia in vain recommended to him attention to his personal safety. Baron de Golitz and Count Schwerin with importunity repeated to him the same advice, but succeeded no better than their master had done. The too confident Peter made this reply:—"Hear ye, if you are my friends drop that subject for the future; it is hateful to me." Some time before the conspiracy burst out, a French architect, named Valois, waited on the Czar at the house of the British minister, where that Prince was dining, and put into his hands a memorial, in which he detailed the seditious conversations of Teploff, the ancient preceptor of the hetman Kyrille Razoumoffsky, and a creature of Bestusheff. The Czar, constrained to give way to the representations of his friends, ordered Teploff to be imprisoned, but neglected to have him interrogated in such a manner as to draw from him a confession that might have led to a detection of the conspiracy.

The persons who had at first resolved to carry off the Czar when he should re-appear at Petersburg, thought, on more mature deliberation, that it would be rather dangerous to wait for that moment, and that

that it was better to execute their design immediately on his arrival at Petershoff. This plan was well digested; each of the conspirators reckoned on his own courage, and on the fidelity of his associates, when all of a sudden the plot was discovered; but this discovery was the effect merely of chance, and, by singular good fortune, the accident which threatened to disconcert their measures, emboldened them, and their very precipitation insured success. From an excess of mistrust or of precaution, Princess d'Aschkoff and Odart had placed about the person of each of the leaders of the conspiracy, a confidential man, who gave them an exact account of every thing that those leaders did, so that had there appeared among them the slightest symptom of treachery, they would instantly have detected it, and turned their thoughts to the means of safety or of vengeance.

Passeck had seduced the soldiers of the company of guards in which he was lieutenant. One of those soldiers, who took it for granted that Passeck acted perfectly in concert with his captain, asked the captain what day they were to take up arms against the Emperor. That officer, surprised at the question, had the address however to conceal it, and giving evasive answers to the soldier's inquiries, drew from him the secret of the conspiracy, and instantly went to disclose it to the chancery of the regiment. This happened about nine in the evening. Passeck was put under arrest. But they put him at first in a room where he had time to write these words with a pencil on a slip of paper:—"Proceed instantly to execution or we are undone." The man set over him appears at the door. Passeck not knowing him, but sensible that every thing was at stake, gives him the billet, saying, if he would carry it directly to the hetman Razoumoffky, he might depend on being handsomely rewarded. The sentinel ran to the Princess d'Aschkoff, and put the billet into her hand. Panin had that moment arrived. She proposed to

him to proceed immediately, alleging that the only means of escaping the Czar's vengeance was to prevent it, and that whatever might be that Prince's imbecillity, if he was allowed time to put himself on his defence, it would be impossible to get the better of him. But whether it was that Panin really believed the enterprise could not succeed, or whether his intellectual ability wanted the boldness necessary for entering on action, he did not yield to the reasoning of the Princess d'Aschkoff, and after having said, it would be better to wait till next day to settle the mode of procedure, took his leave.

The emissaries of the Princess had taken care, meanwhile, to warn the other conspirators. As soon as Panin left her, she habited herself as a man, and went to join Orloff and his friends on the green-bridge, where she was accustomed to meet them, to prevent suspicion by collecting at her house too many subaltern officers and soldiers. These conspirators were neither less uneasy than Princess d'Aschkoff, nor less eager to hasten the execution of their purpose. A delay till to-morrow appeared to them fatal, and undoubtedly would have proved so. It was necessary to act during the silence of the night, and to leave neither to the Czar the power of prevention, nor to the troops and the people time to arm in defence of their Prince. The resolution was unanimous. While Gregory Orloff, one of his brothers, and his friend Bibikoff, repaired to the barracks to prepare the soldiery of their party to enter upon action at the first signal, another of Orloff's brothers, Alexis, undertook the perilous charge of going to find the Empress at Peterhoff.

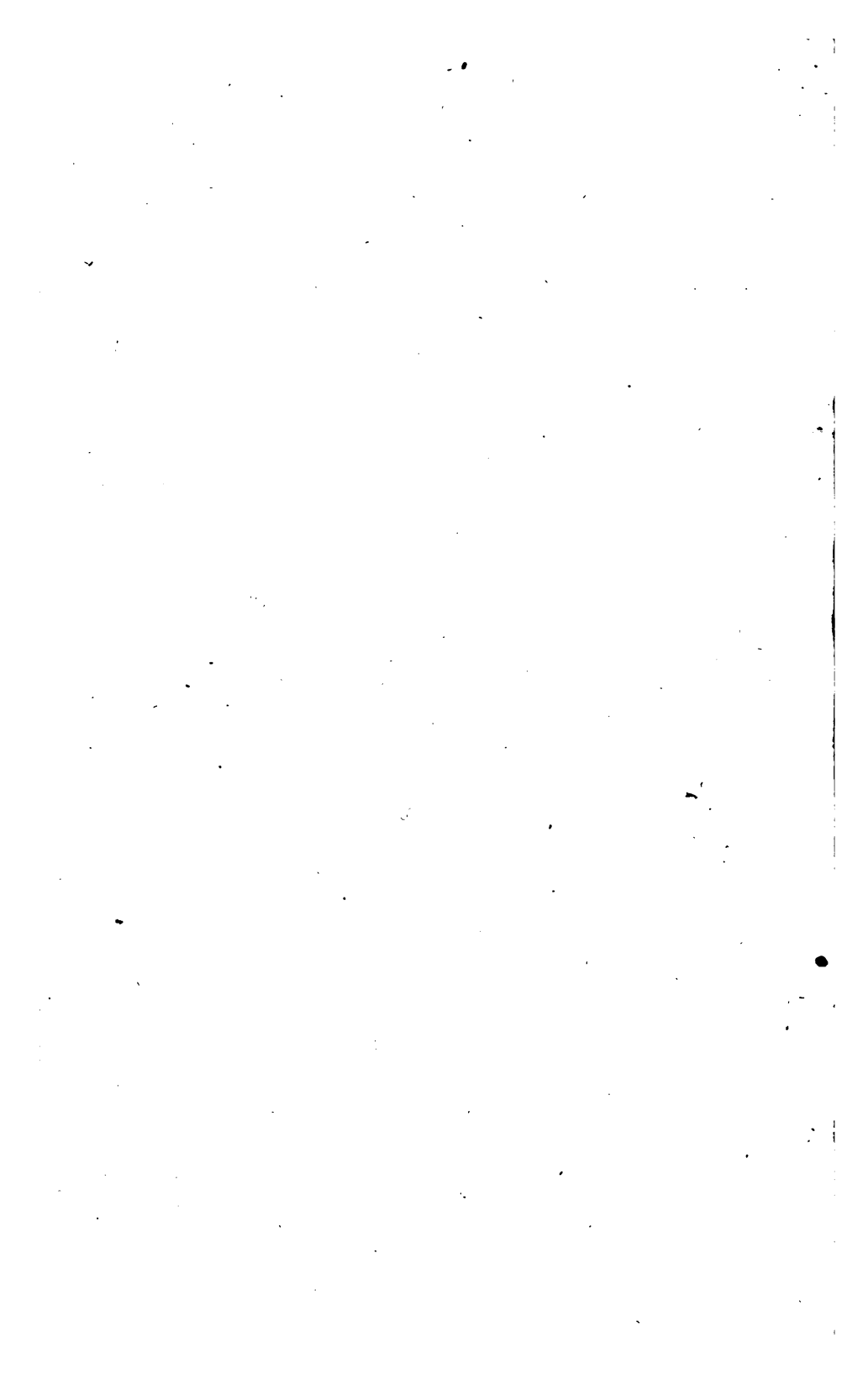
Under pretence of leaving the apartments at liberty for the ensuing festivity of that place, and, in truth, to have a better opportunity of making her escape, Catharine had confined herself to a pavilion, which went by the name of Monplaisir, and situated at the extremity of the gardens, on the banks of the gulf
of



CATHERINE II ALEXIEWNA

Empress of Russia, at the Age of 34 Years.

Published Feb.^r 13.th 1800, by I. Stoddart, Piccadilly.



of Finland. There she had stationed, without any apparent design, a boat, both to serve occasionally for the secret visits of her favourites, and to convey her off to Sweden, should the conspiracy be discovered. Gregory Orloff having given his brother a key to the pavilion, instructed him in the manner of getting thither, and Princess d'Aschkoff gave him a note addressed to the Empress, requiring her immediate attendance.

It was now two o'clock in the morning. The Empress, expecting no one, had gone to bed, and fallen into a profound sleep, when she felt herself hastily awaked, and beheld a soldier standing by her bed-side, whom she did not know. Without delivering Princess d'Aschkoff's note, that soldier said to Catharine:—"Your Majesty has not a moment to lose; prepare to follow me:" and instantly disappeared. Catharine, astonished, perplexed, summoned Ivanowna. They dressed themselves with precipitation, and assumed a disguise which rendered their persons indistinguishable by the sentinels on guard at the palace. Scarcely were they ready, when the soldier re-enters, and informed the Empress, that a carriage waited for her at the garden-gate. It was a coach which, under pretence of having relays for country excursions, the Princess d'Aschkoff had kept in waiting for several days, at a farm two or three miles from Petershoff, and which Alexis Orloff sent one of his comrades to order up. The Empress, without hesitation, advanced up to the carriage, and mounted. Alexis Orloff took the reins and drove away. They were moving with extreme rapidity, when all of a sudden the horses stopped, quite spent with fatigue. It was necessary to alight. Alexis Orloff and his companion employed every effort, but in vain, to make the horses go on. They were still at a very considerable distance from Petersburg, in the middle of the night, in a state of complete embarrassment, and the danger became more pressing every moment;

moment; at last the Empress determined to finish the journey on foot. She had even made some progress this way with her conductors, but fortunately they fell in with a peasant's cart. Alexis Orloff engages it, the Empress gets up, and off again they drive. They presently hear the noise of another carriage advancing with uncommon speed. It was Gregory Orloff who, calculating the moments, had taken the alarm at not seeing the Empress appear. He knew her; he cries aloud, that they waited only for her, and, without waiting for a reply, takes the lead and flies away to receive her at Peterfburgh. At length Catharine, overwhelmed with solicitude and fatigue, but sufficiently mistress of herself to assume an air of composure and serenity, arrived in that capital at seven in the morning.

She repaired immediately to the quarters of the Ismailoff-guards, three companies of whom were gained over, but whom the conspirators would not permit to quit their barracks before Catharine appeared, from fear of missing their blow through too much precipitation. On the report of the Empress's arrival, about thirty of the soldiers, half naked, ran to receive her with shouts of joy. Surprized and alarmed at seeing such a small number of soldiers; she remained for a few moments silent; then said to them with a faltering voice:—"That extreme danger had constrained her to have recourse to their protection; that the Czar intended to have both herself and son put to death that very night; that she had no means of escaping assassination but flight, and that she reposed sufficient confidence in their kindness to commit herself into their hands."

All who heard her were fired with indignation, and swore they would die in her defence. Their example and the hetman Razoumoffsky, their colonel, who presently made his appearance, soon brought over the rest of the soldiery, whom curiosity attracted in crouds around Catharine, and all of them at the same instant

stant acknowledged her as their sovereign. They immediately sent for the chaplain of the regiment of Ismailoff, and that priest administered, over a crucifix, the oath to the troops. Some voices were distinguishable amidst this tumult, which proclaimed Catharine regent; but those voices were speedily suppressed by the menaces of Orloff, and by the more numerous cries of *Long live the Empress!* The guards, Simeonoffsky and Preobraginsky, already imitated the example set by those of Ismailoff. The officers quietly put themselves at the head of their companies, as if they had been privy to the conspiracy. Two only, of the regiment of Preobraginsky, had the courage to oppose their men; but they were instantly put under arrest; and among those who had been gained over, no one failed except Major Tschepeloff and Lieutenant Pouschkin, whom the Empress ordered to be put under arrest, with an intimation, that she had no farther occasion for their services.

While the hetman Razoumoffsky, Prince Wolkonsky, Count de Bruce, Baron Stragonoff, many other general officers, and Princess d'Aschkoff, remained around Catharine, and she was thus making sure of the three regiments of guards, Gregory Orloff hastened to the regiment of artillery, to draw them into the revolt, and conduct them to the presence of the Empress. But though he was paymaster to that corps, and rather a favourite with the soldiers, they to a man refused to follow him, and called for orders from their general, Villebois. That officer had appeared for some time to enjoy the good graces of Catharine, and still believed that he did so; but, as she had found him possessed of a probity too severe to admit of her entertaining any hope that he would be induced to take part in the conspiracy, she had not dared to discover it to him; and, at the moment when one of the friends of Orloff appeared, and told him that the Empress commanded his attendance with his regiment, to join the guards at the barracks, he

he demanded if the Emperor was dead.—The friend of Orloff, without making any reply to that question, repeated the same orders; and Villebois, struck with astonishment, went unattended to present himself to the Empress. Beholding Catharine encircled with a prodigious croud, he had little difficulty in guessing what she wanted with him; but still restrained by the fidelity he had sworn to the Emperor, or by the danger to which he believed that Princess exposed herself, had the courage to represent to her the obstacles still to be surmounted, and observed, that she ought to have foreseen these. She interrupted him haughtily, saying, she had sent for him not to consult him about what she ought to foresee, but to know what he intended to do. “To obey your Majesty,” replied Villebois disconcerted; and went to put himself at the head of his regiment, and to surrender the arsenals to the friends of Catharine.

Such signal successes had cost the Empress only two hours. She saw herself already surrounded by two thousand warriors, and a considerable part of the inhabitants of Petersburg, who mechanically followed the movements of the soldiery, and emulously joined in their applauses. The hetman, Razoumoffsky, advised her now to repair to the church of Kasan, where every thing was prepared for her reception. She put herself in motion towards it with her numerous retinue. The windows, the doors of every house were crowded with spectators, who mingled their acclamations with the shouts of the soldiers. The archbishop of Novogorod, invested with his sacerdotal robes, and encompassed by a great number of the clergy, to whom their long beards and white hairs communicated a venerable air, were in waiting for her at the altar. He placed the imperial crown upon her head, proclaimed her aloud sovereign of all the Russias, by the name of Catharine II. and at the same time declared the young Grand-duke, Paul Petrowitz, her successor. *A Te Deum*

Daum was afterwards chanted, accompanied by the buzzes of the multitude. This ceremony being finished, the Empress repaired to the palace which had been occupied by Elizabeth. The gates were thrown open for the admission of all who wished to come in. For several hours the people flocked thither, falling on their knees before Catharine, and tendering her the oath of allegiance.

The conspirators, meanwhile took care to visit the different quarters of the city, and saw them put in a state of defence. They stationed guards in proper situations, and planted cannon loaded, and matches burning, without the least interruption from any one. Prince George of Holstein, uncle to the Emperor, ventured to shew himself, attended by a handful of soldiers: he was instantly surrounded, compelled to surrender, loaded with abuse, roughly handled, and dragged to a dungeon, from which the Empress released him a few hours afterward, and put him under arrest in his own house. Not only was nothing like resistance opposed to the partisans of Catharine, but no one of the friends of the Czar ever thought of informing him what was going on at Petersburg. One man alone, a foreigner of the name of Bressan, who owed his fortune to that Prince, had the courage to demonstrate his gratitude and fidelity to him. He got a domestic to disguise himself in the habit of a peasant, and dispatched him with a billet, which he had orders to put into the Emperor's own hand. This messenger had just passed at the moment when the conspirators arrived to place a guard on the bridge which leads out of Petersburg, and was proceeding to Oranienbaum, when he got information on the road that the Czar was already at Peterhoff.

Every thing seemed to concur in favour of the conspiracy. On the road to Peterhoff, and at some distance from Petersburg, was encamped a regiment of sixteen hundred men, among whom no manner

of

of intelligence had been disseminated, and there was reason to apprehend, that on the first tidings of a revolt, the Czar would give them orders to join his Holsteinese troops. Scarcely were measures concerted to prevent him, when Colonel Olssoufieff, who commanded that regiment, and who had heard some confused rumour of what was passing in the capital, presented himself to procure clearer information. The conspirators got round him, address him with a spirit of enthusiasm, persuade him, and Olssoufieff returns immediately to give up his regiment to Catharine. At the moment he was haranguing his men, orders arrive from Peter for the regiment to march immediately to join him. The soldiers, seduced from their duty, exclaimed as one man, that they no longer acknowledged Peter III. as Emperor, and immediately proceeded on their march to strengthen the hands of the conspiracy. Before the close of the day, Catharine had already secured the support of fifteen thousand chosen troops. The city was in a formidable state of defence. A strict discipline was every where maintained, and through singular good fortune, not a single drop of blood had been spilled.

What proved of the greatest service to Catharine, was the interest which her partisans inspired in her behalf, by propagating reports on all sides, that the Czar had determined that very day to have her and her son taken off. This atrocious falsehood was believed without examination, and success was the reward of calumny.

When the Empress got to the palace, she immediately sent for her son, Paul Petrowitz. A detachment, at the head of which marched a confidential officer, was dispatched to escort him. On awaking in the midst of soldiers, this young Prince, who had heard frequent talk of the Czar's designs against him, was seized with a dangerous fright. Panin took him in his arms, and carried him to his mother. Catharine then came forward with him to a balcony, and held

held him up to present him to the people, whose acclamations redoubled at sight of the child, because they wished to distinguish in him the person of the new Emperor.

A rumour was suddenly spread abroad, that Peter had breathed his last, and that they were carrying his body to interment. Silence the most profound succeeded to the shouts of the multitude. A number of soldiers, dressed in black cloaks, with flambeaux in their hands, walked in procession round a magnificent coffin, preceded by priests chanting the burial service, and the whole passed through the middle of the croud. But this fictitious funeral was undoubtedly nothing more than an additional trick, which the conspirators had imagined to deceive the people, and intimidate the partisans of the Czar.

The grandees who, for the most part, had taken no part in the conspiracy, and who received information of its success on their awakening, repaired immediately to the palace, where, constrained to suppress their astonishment and indignation, they joined their homage and oath of allegiance to that already taken to Catharine by the multitude. The principal conspirators, assembled round that Princess, then held a council, in which it was resolved to take advantage of the dispositions of the army, and, without delay, to march straight against the Emperor; but in the mean time, to put the Empress beyond the reach of any attack by water, or rather to humour the soldiery, who imagined that it was possible, at every moment, to surprise and dispatch her, they escorted her from Elizabeth's palace to an ancient palace of wood, which overlooks the grand square, and which they encompassed with troops.

Toward noon, this Princess, completely mistress of Petersburg, caused to be dispersed all over the city, and to be delivered to the foreign ministers, a manifesto which the Piedmontese Odat had got secretly printed.

printed some days before, and which was conceived in these terms :

“ We, CATHARINE II. Empress of all the Russias, to our faithful subjects.

“ All true lovers of their country are but too deeply sensible of the danger which threatened the Russian empire. In the first place, our orthodox religion was shaken to the foundation, the canons of the Greek church subverted, and there was just ground to apprehend the most grievous of all calamities, in beholding the orthodoxy, anciently established in Russia, transformed into a foreign religion which is to supersede it. In the second place, the glory of Russia, exalted to the highest pinnacle by her victorious arms, and at the price of her blood, has just been sacrificed to her enemies, even by the peace recently concluded, while the interior arrangements of the empire, which constitute the felicity of our beloved country, were trampled under foot.

“ Deeply affected by the perils to which our loving subjects were exposed, and above all, incapable of resisting their sincere and unanimous wishes, we have mounted our imperial throne of Russia.”

While this manifesto was in circulation, the Empress, decorated with the ribbon of St. Andrew, and dressed in the uniform of the guards, which she had borrowed of a very young officer, named Talizin, mounted on horseback, and rode through the ranks, attended by Princess d'Aschkoff, who likewise wore a uniform. It was upon this occasion that Potemkin, an ensign in the regiment of horse-guards, observing that Catharine had no sword-knot, advanced to make a tender of his. Potemkin's horse, accustomed to the evolutions of a squadron, would not for some time be separated from that which Catharine rode, and afforded her an opportunity of remarking the grace and agility of the person who,
since

since, then, acquired such an unbounded empire over her.

The troops, among whom beer and brandy were incessantly distributed, as incessantly expressed their satisfaction by loud *huzzas* ! and tossing up their hats and caps. One regiment alone partook not of this intoxication : it was a regiment of cavalry, of which Peter had been colonel, when only Grand-duke, and which, on his accession to the throne, he had incorporated with the guards. The officers, having to a man refused to acknowledge Catharine, were put under arrest, and replaced by officers from other regiments ; and the soldiers, by their melancholy silence, presented a striking contrast to the noisy mirth which surrounded them.

But the Empress was too powerful to be under any apprehension from that regiment, and the troops began to file off from the capital to march against the Czar. Catharine then went to dinner opposite to an open window, in sight of the soldiers, and of a vast multitude of persons assembled from curiosity in the grand square.

Peter had as yet no suspicion of what was going forward. Nay, his security was so great that, in the morning, he gave orders to arrest a faithful officer who, having had, the evening before, some indications of the conspiracy, travelled through the night to Oranienbaum, thinking it his duty to impart the secret to his master. That Prince then set out in a calash, with his mistress, his favourites, and the ladies of his court, on the road to Petershoff, where he proposed, the day after, to celebrate the festival of St. Peter with all possible magnificence. Several other carriages followed that of the Czar, and this numerous retinue was proceeding at a prodigious rate, and talking gaily of the pleasures they had in prospect, when the aid-de-camp general, Goudowitz, who had taken the lead on horseback, was perceived riding back at full speed. Goudowitz had met on

the road one of Catharine's chamberlains, coming on foot to meet his master, to inform him of the Empress's elopement, and of the uneasiness which was felt all over the family at Petershoff. On hearing this unexpected news, Goudowitz had turned round his horse, and galloping up to the Czar's carriage called to the coachman to stop. Peter surprized, and even somewhat nettled, unable to conjecture what could bring his aid-de-camp back, asked him if he was mad. Goudowitz came up and whispered a few words in his ear. On this Peter, violently agitated and pale as ashes, alights from the carriage, and retires with Goudowitz, to interrogate him more at his ease. He afterwards returned toward the carriage, and having entreated the ladies to alight, shewed them a gate of the park, by which he desired them to come and join him on foot at the castle, remounts his carriage followed by some of his retinue, and sets off with the utmost precipitation.

On arriving at Petershoff, the Emperor flew to the pavilion which Catharine had occupied, and in his extreme confusion and embarrassment, searched for her as if she could have been concealed under the bed, or in some cupboard. He teized all the attendants with question on question; no one could give him any satisfaction. Those who, possessed of more penetration than the rest, already foresaw the full extent of his calamity, carefully avoided to say any thing that might terrify him. The Countess de Woronzoff, his mistress, and the other ladies who came through the alleys of the garden, did not yet know what could have induced the Czar to leave them on the middle of the high-road. As soon as Peter perceived the Countess, he exclaimed:—"Romanowna, will you believe me now? Catharine has eloped. I told you truly that she was up to every thing."

Meanwhile some peasants, returned from Petersburg, related to the Emperor's domestics what they knew of the insurrection, and the domestics circulated

lated the news in whispers among their fellows; but spoke not a word of the matter either to their master or to his courtiers. A gloomy mistrust already reigned round the ill-fated monarch. It seemed as if a deadly presentiment were, in every heart, the forerunner of his downfall, and overwhelmed himself with terror and perplexity. By and by courage failed him to ask any more questions, and no one dared to tell him the truth. At last, suddenly appeared, in the midst of this dejected assemblage, a country fellow who advanced with a profound reverence, and, without uttering a single word, took from his bosom a sealed billet which he delivered to the Emperor. This seeming peasant was Bressan's servant. The Emperor took the billet, run it over rapidly with his eyes, and then reading it aloud to the circle about him, conveyed intelligence of the revolt which had in the morning broken out at Petersburg; that the troops had taken up arms in favour of Catharine; that she was going to have herself crowned in the church of Kasan, and that all the people apparently took part in the insurrection.

The Czar seemed to be overwhelmed at this news. His courtiers endeavoured to infuse into him a confidence which they themselves possessed not. The Chancellor Woronzoff alleged, that undoubtedly Catharine had been able to make an attempt to stir up the soldiery and the populace, but that this commotion could have no dangerous consequences, and that if the Czar would consent to let him proceed directly to Petersburg, he would engage to bring back the Empress to a sense of her duty. The Czar, without hesitation, accepted the chancellor's proposition, and that minister repaired to the capital. On entering the palace, he found the Empress encircled by a multitude of people who were doing homage to her. He nevertheless had the boldness at first to represent to her the danger to which she was exposing herself.—

"You may, Madam," says he, "be for a while suc-

“cessful, but it cannot be of long duration. Ought
 “you then to confide in the blind zeal of your im-
 “prudent friends? Ought you, for the sake of a
 “momentary reign with them, to render your consort
 “an irreconcilable enemy? Wherefore take up arms
 “against him, when it is so easily in your power to
 “carry every point by gentle methods, and by the
 “ascendancy of your understanding. Reflect, that
 “the regiments of guards do not compose the whole
 “armies of the Czar, and that the inhabitants of
 “Peterburgh are but a very feeble part of the Rus-
 “sian nation.” Catharine calmly replied:—“You
 “see how it is: I am not the agent here; I only
 “comply with the earnest wishes of the nation.”
 The chancellor, who beheld in effect the croud in-
 creasing every instant, and reading in the inflamed
 eyes of some of the conspirators, that his representa-
 tions might speedily be productive of fatal conse-
 quences to himself, forgot his duty, took the oaths
 with the rest, and added:—“I will serve you, Ma-
 “dam, in the council, but am totally useless to you
 “in the field. Even my presence might be offensive
 “to some who have now heard me; and, that I may
 “not give them umbrage, I beseech your Majesty to
 “permit me to remain in my own house, under the
 “guard of a confidential officer.” To this the Em-
 press consented. She sent him home under a prohi-
 bition to stir abroad. By this means the chancellor
 found himself at once secured from the vengeance of
 Catharine’s partisans and from the Czar’s suspicions.

At six in the evening Catharine a second time
 mounted on horseback, and with a drawn sword in
 her hand, and an oaken bough round her head, haf-
 tened to join the troops which were on their march.
 Princess d’Aschkoff and the hetman Razoumoffsky
 rode by her side. A croud of courtiers followed close
 behind; the contention was who should discover the
 greatest ardour to partake in her dangers and in her
 triumph. Her army was farther augmented by 3,000
 kosaks

kofacs well mounted, whom the Emperor ordered to file off toward Pomerania, and to whom the hetman dispatched orders to come and join him.

The Czar, meantime, ever since the chancellor's departure, continued a prey to the most acute pangs of solicitude. He every instant received fresh intelligence of the progress of the revolution. It remained no longer a matter of doubt. Surrounded by women bathed in tears, and young courtiers incapable of giving advice, he rambled hurriedly through the alleys of Petershoff, forming twenty different schemes without executing any one; sometimes uttering dreadful imprecations against Catharine, sometimes dictating unavailing manifestoes. When the hour of dining came, he ordered the cloth to be laid by the sea-side, and appeared for a while to have given a truce to his mournful reflections. But it was not long before the danger with which he was threatened stared him anew in the face, and he sent orders to the 2000 Holsteinese soldiers whom he had left at Oranienbaum to join him immediately with their artillery. It was then that old Marechal Munich made his appearance.

Munich, whom the Emperor respected for his high military reputation, and whom he had almost disgusted by his eagerness to introduce the new Prussian exercise, Munich alone was qualified to give him salutary advice, and he did give it.—“Czar, your troops are at hand,” said the aged warrior. “Let us put ourselves at their head, and march directly to Petersburgh. You still have numerous friends in that city: the moment you appear they will all take up arms in your defence. The greatest part of the guards are misled but for the moment, and will again range themselves under your banners. At any rate, if we must come to blows, be assured that the rebels will not long dispute the victory with you.” The Czar was on the point of adopting this resolution, but it was by no means ac-

ceptable to a herd of timid courtiers; and, while preparation was made for marching, news arrived that the Empress was advancing, with an army reported to be 20,000 strong. The women on this exclaimed that it would be better to return to Oranienbaum. The Emperor himself appeared to be determined not to expose his person.—“Well then!” resumed Munich, “if you are afraid of combatting the rebels, do not wait for them, at least, in a place where you cannot defend yourself to advantage. Neither Oranienbaum nor Petershoff are able to stand a siege; but Cronstadt offers you a secure asylum. Cronstadt is still subject to your authority. You will there find a formidable fleet and a numerous garrison. From Cronstadt, in a word, you will easily bring Petersburg back to a sense of duty.”

This advice was received with universal applause. General Lievers was instantly dispatched to take the command of Cronstadt; and scarcely had they got ready two yachts to convey the Czar, when an officer arrived with an assurance that confidence might be reposed in the fidelity of this place. Peter, who imagined he already saw Catharine at the gates of Petershoff, embarked with precipitation, followed by his dejected court and by the intrepid Munich.

It appeared as if a dreadful fatality rendered abortive the sagest measures that Peter could adopt. In the space of a few hours the face of things was totally changed at Cronstadt. The fleet and the regiments which had just received General Lievers with shouts of joy, swearing loyalty to the Czar, were already in a state of revolt: Lievers had exchanged his command for a prison, and this change was effected by a trick. During the first hours of the insurrection, and in concerting the measures at first adopted for insuring the success of it, no one of the conspirators had paid any attention to the port of Cronstadt. It was not even till after mid-day that some one, reflecting on the importance of that place, pointed

ed out the blunder they had committed in overlooking it. Admiral Talizin immediately makes an offer to go and take possession. It was accepted. He embarks on board his own barge, strictly forbids his boat's crew to tell whence they came, and arrives at Cronstadt. General Lievers, who remained on the quay, expecting every moment the Emperor's arrival, runs to meet Talizin, and artfully endeavours to discover whether he was of Catharine's party; but Talizin, still more cunning, pretends ignorance of the effects of the revolt, and told him, that having heard at his country house certain confused reports of a commotion at Peterburgh, he had hastened down to the fleet where his duty lay. Lievers swallows the tale and quits him. Talizin instantly repairs to the seamen's quarter, harangues them, informs them of the success which had attended the Empress, tells them the best thing they could do was to declare in her favour, distributes money and brandy among them, and engages them to follow him and arrest the commandant. Several soldiers joined the seamen. Lievers is immediately committed to prison, and Talizin remains master in Catharine's name, of a place the possession of which would have saved the Czar, or must have at least furnished him with the means of making a long and vigorous defence.

At the very moment this scene was passing, the Emperor appears off the harbour. Talizin had already made the necessary dispositions to prevent his landing. A part of the garrison, under arms, lines the shore. The cannon are pointed, the matches lighted, and, on the instant that the first yacht attempted to land, the sentinel demands—"Who reigns?" "Long live the Emperor," was returned from the yacht.—"There is no emperor," replied the sentinel, Peter got up, and, half opening his cloak to display the ribbon of his order, says—"What! do you not know me?" "No," replied a thousand voices at once, "we no longer acknowledge an Emperor; Long

"live the Empress Catharine!" Talizin on this threatens to sink the yacht to the bottom, unless she instantly made off. The Czar, in consternation, shrunk back; but Goudowitz stops him, and, laying hold of one of the draw-bridges which join the different entrances of the harbour—"Put your hand in mine," said he to him, "and let us leap on shore. No one will dare to fire upon you, and Cronstadt will still be your Majesty's." Munich supports the advice of Goudowitz, but to no purpose. Peter, in a state of desperation, thinks only of flight, and flees to hide himself in the cabin of the yacht, amidst a group of frightened women. They do not so much as take time to weigh the anchor, but cut their cable, and make off by force of oars.

When the yachts had got to a safe distance from the port, the rowers lay upon their oars. The night was extremely fine, and Munich and Goudowitz, seated on the deck, were sadly and in silence contemplating the starry heavens, and the smoothness of the water. The captain went down into the cabin to ask the Czar whither he was to carry him. That Prince then sent for Munich, and said:—"Field-mareschal, I perceive that I have too long neglected to follow your advice; but you behold to what extremity I am reduced. Do you, who have escaped from so many dangers, inform me what I ought to do." "Go immediately and join the squadron which is at Revel," answered Munich; "take a vessel, pass over into Pomerania, put yourself at the head of your army, and I promise you that in six weeks Peterburgh, and the rest of the empire, will be subjected to your authority."

(The women and the courtiers, as if they had actually been all in concert to ruin the ill-fated Czar, immediately exclaimed that the rowers would want strength to carry them so far as Revel.—"Very well!" replied the veteran Munich, "we will all of us put a hand to the oar." But a proposal so generous could

not

not be acceptable to that timid and perfidious court. They shrunk from it. They emulously strove to assure the Emperor that his danger was not so great as he apprehended; that Catharine could only mean to accommodate matters with him, and that it was better to negotiate than to fight. The feeble Prince, whose greatest misfortune it was never to know how to adopt a bold resolution, yielded to those representations, and ordered the captain to steer for Oranienbaum. It was about four o'clock in the morning when they reached the shore. A few domestics, alarmed for his safety, came down to receive the Emperor. He desired them not to spread abroad the news of his return, shut himself up in his apartment, with orders to admit no person whatever, and wrote secretly to the Empress. At six he appeared with an air sufficiently tranquil. Those of his Holsteinese guards who had returned to Oranienbaum ran up and surrounded him, shedding tears of joy and affection. They kissed his hands, they embraced his knees, they pressed him to give them orders to march against the army of the Empress, and swore that they would to a man sacrifice their own lives in defending his. The aged Munich once more laid hold of this opportunity to exhort the Emperor to stand on his defence. —“Come,” says he, “march against the rebels. I will go before you, and no one shall come at you but through my body.” But the counsels of Munich produced no more effect on Peter than had the noble self-devotedness of the Holstein troops.

The Empress, meanwhile, at the head of her army, had halted at Krasnoi-Kabac (the Red-inn), a small village about seven verstes from Petersburg, and taken up her residence in a cottage, where she rested some hours on a couch composed of the cloaks of the officers in her train. At day-break, Gregory Orloff, with a band of resolute volunteers, went to reconnoitre the vicinity of Petershoff, and having found only a few peasants armed with scythes, which they had

had collected the evening before, dispersed them with blows of the back of the sabre, making them cry out along with him—"Long live the Empress!" At five o'clock Catharine re-mounted, and advanced to the monastery of Saint-Serge, where she halted a second time. She was still in this place when she received the Czar's letter, in which he made an acknowledgment of his misconduct, and proposed to divide with her the sovereign authority. But Catharine made no reply, detained the messenger, and presently began to march again.

The Czar then finding that the Empress was at hand, ordered one of his horses to be saddled, with a design to fly off, alone and in disguise, toward the frontiers of Poland. But ever timid, ever irresolute, he presently after gave orders to disarm his little fortress of Oranienbaum, as a proof to Catharine that he did not mean to make any resistance, and wrote her a second letter imploring her mercy, and asking forgiveness in the most humiliating terms. He at the same time assured her, that he ceded to her the imperial crown of Russia, and entreated she would grant him a pension, with permission to return to Holstein. Catharine did not deign to make any reply to this letter any more than she had to the first: but after having conversed a considerable time with the chamberlain Ismailoff, who had brought it to her, and whom she easily persuaded to betray his master, sent him back to the Czar to hasten his determination to submit implicitly to her commands.

Ismailoff returned to Oranienbaum, and presented himself to the Czar, in company with his sole domestic. The Emperor had at that time about him six hundred men of his Holsteinese guard. He ordered them to withdraw, and closetted himself with the chamberlain, who exhorted him to abandon his troops, and go directly to the Empress, assuring him of a most gracious reception, and of obtaining from her every thing he could wish. Peter hesitated some time; but

Ismailoff

Ismailoff having told him, that unless he made dispatch his life would be in danger, he suffered himself to be over-ruled by that traitor. Immediately Ismailoff made him get into a carriage, with Romanowna Woronzoff and Goudowitz, and set off for Petershoff. The unfortunate Czar imagined that such entire resignation would soften the heart of Catharine. He was speedily undeceived. When his carriage passed through the middle of the army, the kosaks, whom the Emperor first met, and who had never seen him, preserved a mournful silence; he himself underwent very painful emotions: afterwards the repeated shout of *Long live Catharine!* raised by the rest of the troops, plunged him in despair.

On stepping from the carriage, Romanowna Woronzoff was carried away by the soldiers, who stripped off her ribbon, with which her own sister, the Princess d'Aschkoff, was almost instantly decorated. The aide-de-camp general, Goudowitz, was insulted in like manner; but preserved the greatest coolness of temper, and haughtily upbraided the rebels with their insolence and treason. The Emperor was conducted to the top of the grand stair-case. There the insignia of his order were torn off, he was stripped of his clothes, and on searching the pockets a good many diamonds and other jewels were found. After having remained some time in his shirt, bare-footed, an object of derision to the soldiery, he was dressed in a sorry night-gown, and shut up in solitude, with a guard at his chamber door.

Count Panin, by order of the Empress, waited on this Prince, and had a long conversation with him. He told him that the Empress intended to detain him but a very short time under confinement, and that she would send him back to Holstein as he desired. To this promise he subjoined a great many more, though assuredly no design was entertained of observing any one of them. Finally, he made him transcribe and sign the following declaration.

“ During

“ During the short period of my absolute sway over the Russian empire, I have discovered that my strength is by no means sufficient to sustain such a load, and that it far transcends my ability to govern that empire, not only in the exercise of sovereign authority, but in any manner whatever: I have accordingly perceived the convulsions which must have been followed by its total ruin, and covered myself with everlasting shame. After mature reflection, therefore, on the subject, I declare, without any constraint, to the empire of Russia, and to the whole universe, that I renounce for life the government of the said empire, having no wish to rule over it, either with sovereign power, or under any other form of government, without so much as the hope of ever attaining it, by any aid whatever. In confirmation of which I solemnly and sincerely swear to it, in the presence of God and of all the universe, having written and signed this renunciation with my own hand.”

Armed with this fatal instrument, Panin retired. Peter appeared from that time to be more tranquil, and an officer, with a powerful escort, almost immediately took possession of his person, and departed, telling him his orders were to conduct him to Robscha, a small imperial castle twenty verstes distant from Peterburgh.

The capital, meanwhile, remained since evening in a state of expectation and uncertainty. No one had arrived there with intelligence of Catharine's success. Peter still had friends in that city; and had he possessed force to combat and repulse the rebels, Peterburgh would have received him with cordiality, to prevent his vengeance. The foreign merchants who there abound, were chiefly apprehensive of the fury of the Russian soldiers, who perhaps might have thought, by plundering and murdering them, of making a merit with the Czar. Many of those merchants, accordingly, made haste to put their most valuable effects

fects on board the ships of their respective nations, and held themselves in readiness to embark. Toward evening, the report of artillery, heard at a distance, diffused a sudden alarm over the city; but it was soon observed that the discharges, proceeding at regular intervals, and the Czar having dispatched no one to make sure of Peterburgh for him, this noise of cannon could announce only the triumph of the Empress. Henceforward tranquillity was restored, and hope took place of fear.

Catharine slept that night at Peterhoff, no longer as a prisoner, but as an all-powerful sovereign. Next day she received at her levee the homage of the grantees who had joined her the evening before, and that of the courtiers and the young women who came from Oranienbaum. Among these appeared the father, the brother, and several other relations of Prince d'Aschkoff, who, on seeing them prostrate before the Empress, said to her:—"Madam, pardon my family. You know I have sacrificed them to you."

Catharine raised them up, and gave them her hand to kiss. Marechal Munich likewise made his appearance; and the moment she perceived him she said aloud:—"Was it you then, Field-marechal, who proposed to fight me?" "Yes, Madam," replied Munich, with assurance. "Could I do less for the Prince who released me from captivity? But my duty henceforth binds me to fight for you, and you will find in me a fidelity similar to that which I had sworn to him."

In the afternoon Catharine returned to Peterburgh. Her entry was triumphant. She rode on horseback, preceded or followed by the principal conspirators. The whole army had crowned themselves with foliage; the cries of joy and the acclamations of the people were confounded with those of the soldiery. The croud pressed into the way through which the Empress was to pass, and kissed her hands. The papas had assembled in great numbers at the entrance
of

of the palace, and the instant she perceived them she dismounted, and kissed the chief of them on the cheek, which, in Russia, is a mark of very high consideration. During the first days which succeeded her return to the capital, this Princess continued to exhibit herself to the multitude with extreme complaisance. She well knew how easy it is to gain the affections of the populace; she took her place in the senate, and assisted in the decision of several causes. She afterwards held her court with a dignity and ease which effaced the very recollection of the sudden revolution which had so recently placed her on the throne. The foreign ministers appeared with their compliments of congratulation, and she received them with a flattering address adapted to each. Her first concern was to remove Prince Ivan from the house where he was concealed, and to remand him back to Schlusfelburgh. She then proceeded to bestow magnificent remuneration on the chiefs of the conspiracy. Panin was appointed prime minister; the Orloffs were raised to the title of count; and the favourite, Gregory Orloff, was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general of the Russian armies, and created knight of the order of St. Alexander Newsky, the second of the empire. Many officers of the guards were promoted. Twenty-four of them obtained considerable grants of land, with some thousands of peasants. The state of the finances admitted not of giving any largesses to the soldiers, except in brandy and beer: distribution of these was made, and Catharine treated them with much affability. She sometimes even went so far as to lay herself under unpleasant restraints, rather than give them any ground of disgust.

Three days after the revolution, a drunken soldier dreamed that the Empress had been carried off. He gets up, runs over the barracks, and spreads the alarm, crying aloud that the Holsteinese and Prussians had seized the Empress. The regiment instantly

stantly flies to arms, rushes to the palace; and clamorously demands they might see Catharine. The hetman Razoumoffsky, informed of this tumult, appears at a window, assures them the Empress is not carried off, and that after the disquiet and fatigues she had undergone for several days, had retired to rest in perfect security. But the soldiers refused to believe him, and the clamour increased. The hetman then enters Catharine's apartment, awakens her, saying he did not wish to excite in her any apprehension. "You know," said she haughtily, "that nothing can intimidate me; but what is the matter?" "The soldiers imagine you are not here. They insist on seeing you," replies Razoumoffsky. "Very well! they must be satisfied," returns she; and immediately rises, dresses herself, calls for her carriage, and orders them to drive to the church of Kasan. As she passed along the soldiers surrounded the carriage, asking one another—"Is that really the Empress? Is that indeed our mother?" When arrived at the church, Catharine shews herself to them, harangues them, thanks them for their kind concern about her, and sends them all away perfectly contented.

She valued herself on the clemency which she extended to the officers and friends of the Emperor; and if some had the mortification of being banished the court, no one was deprived of either property or life. The aid-de-camp general, Goudowitz, Wolkoff and Melgounoff, were the only persons committed to prison. The Countess de Woronzoff, who had been at first treated with indignity by the soldiers, was sent back to the house of the senator, her father, and the Empress forbade any farther insult to be offered to her.

All the courtiers were then earnest in their attendance about the sovereign. They were anxious in their conjectures on whom her favour was to fall; each one flattered himself with the hope of obtaining the greatest share, and no one entertained the slightest suspicion

suspicion that the heart of this Princess had long before given a decided preference to an obscure officer. The first marks of distinction conferred on Gregory Orloff appeared as no more than the reward of his services, and not a tribute of love. Princess d'Aschkoff was the first to discover the secret. Jealousy is still more quick-sighted than ambition; it is assuredly less discreet; and Madame d'Aschkoff, not satisfied with upbraiding Catharine for a choice which degraded her, disseminated the report of it among her friends, and became the instrument of effecting her own disgrace. Every eye was now opened. The leaders of the conspiracy perceived with indignation that they had been labouring for the advancement of a man whom they had always considered as the mere tool of their projects, and saw, to their mortification, that in the arts of intrigue this man was greatly their superior.

The most zealous partisans of Catharine were not however free from solicitude. Some regiments murmured, and were already repenting their treason to their lawful sovereign. The populace, with whom the transition is so easy from rage to pity, compassionated that unfortunate Prince. They forgot his blunders, his oddities, his weaknesses, and recollected only his good qualities and his hard fate. Those of the seamen who had at first joined the authors of the revolution, seemed to awake out of a fit of profound intoxication, and contemplated with horror the breach of duty into which they had been betrayed. They and their comrades were heard loudly reproaching the guards with having sold their master for beer and brandy. The guards themselves shuddered at the thought of their daring enterprize: some of them accused others of having basely seduced them into the commission of an abominable crime. From reproachful words they proceeded to blows, and these quarrels frequently had bloody consequences. In short, there was reason to apprehend a new insurrection.

While

While these alarms agitated Peterburgh, the news from Moscow did not tend greatly to allay them. The governor of this last city, informed of the revolution by Catharine's emissaries, ordered the five regiments which composed the garrison to appear under arms, and having drawn them up in the grand square of the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the Czars, summoned the people to attend, who resorted thither in great multitudes. This officer then read aloud the oukase by which the Empress announced her own accession, and the deposition of her husband; and, when he had done reading, cried out—"Long live the Empress Catharine the Second!" But the people and the soldiers remained silent. He raised the same cry a second time; the same silence reigned. The voice of murmuring only was heard. The troops complained that the regiments of guards had insolently dared to dispose of the throne. The governor, terrified for the consequences, then pressed the other officers to join him. They cried out together—"Long live the Empress!" After which the people were sent home, and the soldiers remanded to their barracks.

This was more than enough undoubtedly, to induce the conspirators to rid themselves of an object of disquiet. Whoever has already advanced one step in a criminal course, is not over-scrupulous about the second: the death of the ill-fated Emperor was resolved on. When he was conveyed from Peterhoff, this Prince, restored to confidence by the promises of Panin, little apprehended the fate which awaited him. Believing that his confinement was to be short, previous to his being sent back to Germany, he preferred a request to Catharine to have the negro who sometimes amused him, a dog of which he was very fond, his violin, a bible and some romances, and desired she might be told that, disgusted with the wickedness of men, he was determined henceforth to live the life of a philosopher. Not one article was grant-

ed him, and his plans of wisdom were laughed to scorn. They did not even carry him to the imperial castle of Robschä, as had been announced to him; he was secretly conducted to Mopfa, a small country house belonging to the hetman Razoumoffsky. He had been six days in this place without its being suspected by any one except the ringleaders of the conspiracy, and the soldiers who guarded him, when Alexis Orloff and Teploff appeared, and told him they came to intimate his approaching deliverance, and to ask a dinner of him. There were immediately introduced, conformably to the custom of the North, glasses and brandy. While Teploff was endeavouring to amuse the Czar, Orloff fills the glasses, and mingles that which was to carry death into the bowels of the Prince, with an infusion which one of the court physicians had the villainy to compound on purpose. The Czar, suspecting no harm, took the poison and swallowed it. He was presently seized with agonizing pains, and on Orloff's presenting him a second glass, he rejected it, and upbraided him with the horrid crime he had committed. He screamed aloud for milk; but the two monsters again presented poison to him, and pressed him to take it. A French *valet-de-chambre*, who was powerfully attached to his master, ran in. The Czar flung himself into his arms, saying—"It was not enough then "to prevent my reigning over Sweden, and to tear "from my head the crown of Russia! they must have "my life besides!" The *valet-de-chambre* had the boldness to intercede for his unhappy master; but the two abandoned villains forced this dangerous witness out of the apartment, and continued to abuse the Czar. In the midst of this tumult entered the youngest of the Princes Baratinsky, who commanded the guard. Orloff, who had already thrown down the Czar, pressed upon his chest with his own knees, holding him fast at the same time by the throat with all his force, while the other hand grasped his scull.

Baratinsky

Baratinsky and Teploff then passed a table-napkin with a sliding knot round his neck. Peter, in defending himself, imprinted a scratch on the face of Baratinsky, the mark of which that traitor bore many days afterward, but the strength of the unfortunate Czar was soon exhausted, and the murderers accomplished the work of death by strangling him.

Alexis Orloff immediately mounted on horseback, and galloped off at full speed, to inform Catharine that Peter had breathed his last. He arrived at the moment when she was going to hold her court. She appeared with a composed air; afterward she closetted herself with Orloff, Panin, Razoumoffsky, Gleboff, and some others of her fell confidants; and after having deliberated in this ill-omened council, to determine whether it would be proper immediately to inform the senate and people of the Emperor's decease, it was agreed to wait one day more. Catharine dined in public as usual, and met her court in the evening with all imaginable gaiety.

The day after, Catharine still affecting ignorance of the news of this death, contrived to have it announced to her while she was at table. She instantly retired with tears streaming from her eyes, after having dismissed her attendants and the foreign ministers. She flew and shut herself up in her apartment, and, for several days, exhibited all the marks of a profound sorrow. During this interval was published, in name of the Empress, the following declaration, a strange compound of unrelenting cruelty and the most abominable hypocrisy.

“The seventh day after our accession to the Imperial throne, we received intelligence that the late Emperor was attacked by a violent cholic, occasioned by a flux of blood, to frequent fits of which he had formerly been subject. Accordingly, that we might not be wanting in the duty which the Christian religion imposes, and in the observance of the sacred law which enjoins the preservation of

"the life of our neighbour, we issued immediate orders to send him every thing that could contribute to prevent the consequences of an indisposition so alarming, and to relieve him by remedies prompt and efficacious. We were, notwithstanding, informed yesterday, to our great sorrow and regret, that it had pleased the Most High to terminate his career. For this reason we have given orders to deposit his body in the monastery of Newsky, there to be interred.

"We, at the same time, exhort, as a sovereign and a mother, all our faithful subjects to take their last farewell of the deceased, forgetting the past, and to pray to God for his soul, as well as to consider this unexpected interposition of the Almighty as one effect of the impenetrable views which his providence has reserved to itself over us, over our imperial throne, and over every part of our beloved country."

The body of the ill-starred Peter III. was actually carried to Petersburgh; and exposed for three days at the church of St. Alexander Newsky. Care had been taken to dress him in his Prussian uniform, and persons of every rank and of all conditions were left at liberty to render him the last homage of affection, which, in Russia, consists in kissing the mouth of the deceased person. His visage had become extremely black. It was easy to see, through the epidermis, extravasated blood oozing, which penetrated even the gloves with which his hands were covered; and the poison administered to him must have been extremely violent, for all those who had the melancholy resolution to apply their mouth to his retired with swollen lips. Catharine's council was abundantly sensible that such fearful indications might lead to a discovery of the means to which they had resorted, in order to shorten the Czar's life: but considered themselves less interested in saving appearances of the crime than in preventing the commotions which must infallibly

libly have been excited, had the people thought that this Prince was still living.

The day of the interment was a day of trouble and desolation to Petersburg. The people joined the procession, loading with execrations the soldiers of the guard, and reproached them with having basely spilled the last drop of the blood of Peter I. The Holsteinese soldiers, who had till then remained at Oranienbaum, at liberty, but disarmed, attended this mournful funeral, and accompanied, in tears, their master's corpse. The Russians no longer beheld in them preferred rivals, but faithful servants, in whose grief they sympathized. Next day Catharine ordered these wretched Holsteiners to be shipped off for their own country. A considerable number of them were put on board a vessel which sunk as she was going out of the harbour of Cronstadt. They saved themselves on the rocks, level with the water, and the barbarous Admiral Talizin suffered them to perish there, under pretence of being obliged, before he gave them any assistance, to send to Petersburg for permission.

Prince George, to whom Peter had given the title of Duke of Courland, in room of Prince Charles of Saxony, who had given him cause of discontent, was compelled to renounce that title: but Catharine, as an indemnification, confided to him the administration of Holstein, whither she hastened to dispatch him, with the rest of his family, and where he always served her with a zeal which, perhaps, she had little reason to expect from him.

The chancellor Bestuscheff, who had been the most ancient, the most ardent enemy of the Czar; and the confidant of Catharine, was recalled from exile. She sent Prince Wolkonsky and Lieutenant Kalischkin to escort him to Petersburg. She restored him his rank of field-mareschal and his place at the council-board, and gratified him with a pension of 20,000 roubles, but dispensed with his services, in considera-

tion of his great age. Béstuscheff affected to have turned devotee, but continued, nevertheless, to give himself up to the pursuits of ambition and to intrigue.

Biren, who, more irritated against Peter for not having re-instated him in his dutchy than grateful for the liberty to which he had just restored him, had joined the triumphant party, and sometimes aided it with the illumination of his experience. Biren found his way back to Courland, met with little difficulty, in recovering his rights, and there promoted, with all his might, the views which Catharine already entertained respecting Poland. In order to convey a complete idea of the character of this man, who, after having abandoned himself to the commission of the most horrible cruelties, carried indulgence to the extreme of weakness, and who united contemptible meanness to ridiculous vanity, it may be sufficient to relate in what manner he took leave of Catharine. He fell on his knees before her, in presence of the whole court, and addressed her in the following words:

“Most illustrious and most puissant Empress! most
 “gracious sovereign and great lady!—Is it possible
 “to imagine a magnanimity and a beneficence similar
 “to those which your Imperial Majesty has graciously displayed in favour of me, and of all my
 “house? A prince without liberty, without lands,
 “without resources, without support, finds himself,
 “all at once, possessed of every one of these blessings, whereof adverse fate had stripped him during
 “a long series of years. I owe them, all these advantages, to that love of justice which is seated
 “on the throne by the side of your Imperial Majesty, and has just broken asunder the snare which
 “iniquity and violence had so artfully woven.

“What can I do to express, in a becoming manner, my acknowledgments of that grace and of
 “those bounties. My exertions, united to those of
 my

“ my whole house, are unequal to the task, and I
“ should remain inconsolable, were I not persuaded
“ that your benevolence holds as acquitted those who
“ have nothing to offer but gratitude and submission.
“ These are the two sentiments which I shall carry
“ with me to the grave, and which I shall incessantly
“ inculcate on all who belong to me. I prostrate
“ myself, then, most humbly, at the feet of your Im-
“ perial Majesty, with a promise of unbounded gra-
“ titude and submission, and I presume to supplicate,
“ in behalf of me and mine, the continuance of your
“ powerful protection.”

Munich himself obtained the government of Es-
thonia and of Livonia; but Catharine, who had lis-
tened at first with interest to what he said, then
perhaps only meant to rid herself of an old man
whose ambition seemed to increase with age, and who
teized her continually with his projects and advices.

The news of the revolution soon spread far and
wide. No one of the sovereigns of Europe was ig-
norant of the means which Catharine had employed
to place herself on the throne, but no one hesitated
to acknowledge her. Some even rejoiced at the
event: their joy was not of long duration.

In the first oukase published by Catharine, on
taking possession of the throne, she had called the
King of Prussia the hereditary and irreconcilable
enemy of Russia, because she wished to make the
hatred of the Russians to the Prussians rebound on
the head of her unfortunate consort. Fearing, be-
sides, that Frederick might prevail with the 20,000
Russian auxiliaries who were in his army, to declare
in favour of the Czar, and whom she recalled, she
had at once given orders to her commissaries to seize
anew the revenues of Royal Prussia, and to her ge-
nerals to hold themselves in readiness to fight. Ma-
ria-Theresa from this believed that the Russians, on
withdrawing from the Prussian standards, would assist
her in once more dictating laws to Frederick. Ma-

ria-Theresa was deceived. She soon beheld, with equal indignation and astonishment, Frederick offering no opposition to the departure of the Russian auxiliaries, and Catharine not only giving orders to her troops to evacuate Prussia, but confirming the peace concluded by the Czar.

Louis XV. likewise flattered himself that the caresses lavished on his ambassador by Catharine, while she was only Grand-dutchess, amounted to a declaration of attachment to France. But from the moment she mounted the throne, with all her partiality to French literature and arts, she was unable longer to conceal her contempt of, and aversion to, the court of Versailles. Her wretched husband seemed, in this respect, to have served her as a model.

The monarch who formed the soundest judgment of her character, was the King of Prussia. That Prince, long foreseeing the bold manœuvre which seated her on the throne, had incessantly recommended to his minister Goltz, that, since Peter was resolved to ruin himself, his whole court should be paid to Catharine. Goltz accordingly, the flatterer of the Czar, and the assiduous companion of his pleasures, was, at the moment of his disaster, one of the first to abandon him, and received from Catharine the most gracious marks of attention.

Catharine likewise gave a cordial reception to the envoy from Copenhagen, and sent assurances to the King of Denmark, that he might make himself easy respecting Holstein, and that it was her intention to maintain a good understanding with him.

M. Keith, the British ambassador, had not all the influence over this Princess which his predecessor Williams enjoyed; but she treated him as the minister of a friendly court, and hastened to renew the treaties which have long secured to the English almost the whole commerce of Russia.

In preserving peace with the sovereigns of Europe, Catharine neglected nothing to maintain it in the interior

interior of the empire. She had more to fear from her own subjects than from foreign potentates; she accordingly employed with them, by turns, address and severity. The court speedily assumed a new appearance. Every thing there already stooped under the secret will of Gregory Orloff, whose credit and insolence daily increasing, humbled, provoked the grantees, and inspired them with an ardent desire to behold his downfall. Several of them had the courage to remonstrate on the subject: their disgrace was immediately determined. But Catharine thought herself still obliged to dissemble, and intended, before avenging her favourite, to affix the last seal to his power.

Recent accounts from Moscow were more favourable than the first. Brandy and money distributed by the governor had altered the spirit of the garrison. Soldiers could not refuse to acknowledge the sovereign who was giving them daily proofs of her liberality. Assured of this success, Catharine hastened her departure to the ancient capital of Muscovy, there to have the ceremony of coronation performed. But before she quitted Peterburgh, the regiments of guards, who had placed her on the throne, were assembled, and loaded with new caresses. She left them under the command of the hetman Razoumoffsky, and of Prince Wolkonsky, conferred the government of the city on the Count de Bruce, of whose fidelity she had full assurance, and charged Alexis Orloff to exercise a general superintendence with his usual activity.

On this journey the Empress had commanded the attendance of Gregory Orloff, of the old chancellor Bestusheff, of the Baron Stroganoff, in a word, of almost all the grantees who were the most firmly devoted to her, as well as of those from whose absence she had any thing to fear. She was careful above all things to take with her the young Grand-duke Paul Petrowitz, and the principal ladies of her court.

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This numerous retinue entered Moscow in great pomp. But, notwithstanding the money scattered about beforehand, it was received coldly, and without any acclamation. Catharine could perceive from this solitude and silence, that her presence was by no means acceptable to the people. She repaired to the chapel of the Czars, where she lavished her adulation on the Archbishop and superior clergy, and was crowned in presence of the soldiery and of her courtiers. The croud, which shunned the approach of the Empress, always threw themselves in the Grand-duke's way, and mingled with the emotions of interest which that child inspired, sentiments of regret for the hard fate of his father. The presence of Catharine, however, in the ancient capital of the empire, and the coronation of that Princess were signalized by largesses, promotions, and oukases, which demonstrated the earnest desire she had to conciliate the affections of the nation. As a piece of flattery to the army, whose talents and valour Peter had appeared too highly to under-rate, she caused a proclamation to be published, containing a panegyric on the troops which had fought against Prussia, and gave a gratification of a half year's pay to all the subaltern officers and soldiers who had been engaged in the battles of Paltzig, of Francfort and of Kunersdorff. She appointed Gregory Orloff lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of horse-guards. Alexis Orloff was promoted to the same rank in the regiment of Preobraginsky-guards, Fedor Orloff in that of the Simeonoffsky-guards, and Volodimir in that of the guards Ismajloffsky. At last, the Empress, thoroughly dissatisfied with Moscow, carefully concealed her displeasure, and hastened to resume the road to Petersburg.

It was then she threw off all manner of constraint. The monks, who had long favoured her projects, and to whom she had made frequent promises of restoring the property of which her husband had stripped them, in vain called to her recollection their own

own services and her assurances. She was sensible that it would be highly imprudent to permit them to recover an ascendant which might become as dangerous to her as it had proved useful, and, instead of revoking the edict of Peter III. she committed the examination of it to a synod composed of men blindly devoted to her will. The higher clergy were bought off; the rest were sacrificed; and, boiling with rage, swore to avenge themselves of a Princess, in whose behalf they had formed so many cabals.

The fury of the priests could not fail to produce some effect. They blew up the flame of sedition among the people; they communicated it to some of the soldiery; they called to remembrance the name of Prince Ivan; they discovered that on the very day of the revolution he had been at Peterburgh, whither Peter had him mysteriously conducted, with a design to declare him his successor, and whence Catharine had him since conveyed, in a manner no less mysterious; and they declared without reserve, that to this unfortunatè Prince the throne of right pertained. They did more. They drew from concealment, and published a manifesto, all the copies of which the vigilance of Catharine's friends had been unable to suppress. Peter had ordered it to be drawn up by the counsellor of state, Wolkoff, and signed it with his own hand. He there detailed all the weaknesses, all the crimes of Catharine; and, accusing her of adultery, declared that he did not acknowledge the young Grand-duke as his son, that child being the issue of his wife's scandalous commerce with Soltikoff. This manifesto, written with considerable force and dignity, was artfully disseminated among the people, and soon found its way to the soldiery, who, for the most part, unable to conceive by what insatiation they had been seduced into rebellion, already repented of their crime, or deplored the mournful fate of a Prince misled, but not wicked, weak, but not stupid, whom an ambitious and hypo-

critical

critical woman had caused to be put to death in the most barbarous manner. He who is the object of pity soon finds avengers. Every thing seemed to announce a counter revolution. But Gleboff, Pasfeck, Teploff, all the cruel and vigilant emissaries of Catharine, spied through darkness the authors of these murmurings, and became their accusers. An imperial proclamation suddenly prohibited the soldiers of the guards to assemble without orders from their officers. Some of the most forward among them were imprisoned and underwent the punishment of the knout; others were exiled to the heart of Siberia: terror for some time reduced the rest to silence.

In thus chastising the regiments of guards, the Empress thought of overawing the clergy also. She would not so much as save appearances with such of her court as fell under her displeasure, and who imagined they had the fairest claims upon her gratitude. Ivan Schouwaloff had not openly taken part in the conspiracy, but had served it before-hand by calumniating Peter; and, when it did break out, he gave it his approbation and support. A mean flatterer of Catharine's inclinations, he dreamed of being on the same easy terms with her which the Empress Elizabeth had allowed him. Schouwaloff was mistaken. He became an object of jealousy to Orloff; Catharine sent him orders to leave the court; then, blending derision with harshness, she gave him, as an adequate reward of his services, an old negro who acted the buffoon.

The general of the artillery, Villebois, who had the weakness to give way to a sentiment of tenderness for her, instead of persevering in his duty, speedily met with his punishment. Orloff stood in awe of his understanding, and coveted his employments. Villebois was dismissed, and the favourite placed at the head of the ordnance.

The pretensions of the Princess d'Ashenkoff became
odious

odious to the Empress. During the first moments of the revolution, the Princess as well as Catharine had assumed the uniform of the guards, and marched at their head. She had sacrificed her own father, her sister, her whole family to the elevation of her friend; she had made a sacrifice of her own person, in admitting the love of Panin, for whom she had an extreme aversion. The only recompense she asked was the title of Colonel of the Preobraginsky guards. But Catharine replied with a sarcastic smile, that she would make a better figure at the academy than in a troop of warriors. The Princess d'Aschkoff, cruelly humbled by this retort, gave herself up to her natural impetuosity, murmured among her friends at Catharine's ingratitude, and meditated all the possible means of avenging herself. The perfidious Odart, who watched her movements, was the first who gave an account of her designs to the Empress. The Princess received immediate orders to repair to Moscow. Her husband, who had been long absent, and who observed her advanced in pregnancy, without knowing how she came by it, was the person who pitied her the least.

Catharine, at the same time, who flattered herself that she could impose on foreign nations as she had upon the Russians, and who wished to make Europe believe that in mounting the throne she had only complied with the wishes of the people, commissioned the Piedmontese Odart to engage the French ambassador to write to Voltaire, with a request to be on his guard against the vanity of Princess d'Aschkoff, and to assure him, that, in the event of his celebrating the revolution which had just taken place in Russia, he ought to mention this young woman as having performed but a very subordinate part in the transaction, the success of which was to be ascribed entirely to the wisdom and courage of the Empress. A similar commission was given to her ambassadors at London and Paris.

The

The Archbishop of Novogorod, one of the principal agents in the revolution, and the person who had since contributed the most towards curtailing the prerogatives of the monks, because he had been gained over by dint of money and promises, beheld himself in a moment hurled from his towering expectations. As soon as Catharine found she had no longer occasion for his services, she hastened to turn him adrift, and he was obliged to go and digest his rage and his shame amidst a clergy who detested him, and a people who despised his ambition.

Poniatowsky had meanwhile, to his inexpressible satisfaction, been informed of the triumph of Catharine. Since his departure from Petersburg, he had kept up a close correspondence with her, through the medium of complaisant friends, and he reckoned so much the more on her, that in giving herself up to secret intrigues, she openly affected a romantic constancy. Poniatowsky, perhaps, flattered himself then with soon receiving the hand of her whose heart he believed to be already his own. He advanced to the very frontiers of Poland, and sent to demand permission of the Empress immediately to present himself to her. But she answered that his presence was not necessary at Petersburg, and that she had other views respecting him. Not wishing that he should be as yet made acquainted with her new engagements, she continued to write to him letters replete with tenderness, and sometimes wept before the confidants of that Polonese, while she talked of her passion for him. She fired at the imputation of her having a partiality for Orloff, and endeavoured to render him ridiculous in their eyes, while she had long been granting him her most valuable marks of favour in secret. Poniatowsky and his confidants were the dupes of Catharine's protestations and false tears.

But the season of fear was past. Mystery no longer suited the temper of Orloff. That insolent and

brutal

brutal favourite seconded indifferently the dissimulation of his mistress, and made her feel that he had no farther occasion to attend to modes of behaviour. He entered her apartment at all hours, and in public frequently treated her with a freedom which left no room to doubt of their mutual understanding. Accustomed to live in barracks and taverns, Orloff had acquired a passion for drinking. One evening that he was at supper with the Empress, in the company of the hetman Razoumoffsky, and some other courtiers, having heated himself with wine, he began to talk of the ascendant which he had over the guards; he boasted that he alone had effected the revolution, and added, his power was so absolute, that if he had a mind to abuse it, he could in one month undo his own work, and dethrone the Empress. "Thou mightest do that in a month," replied the hetman, laughing at this audacious effusion; "but, my friend, we would have had thee hanged in less than a fortnight!" The rest of the company were filled with indignation, but the favour of Orloff underwent no diminution.

- Policy still more than love at that time attached Catharine to her favourite. She knew his activity, his impetuosity, his boldness, and had neither the power of arming herself against him with a vain flatulency, nor of preferring to him courtiers, more polished undoubtedly, but almost all of them destitute of talents and of courage. Less complaisant with the other conspirators, who were only subaltern officers, and whom she had already sufficiently recompensed, she gradually removed them from court, and permitted them to resume their military train of life, and their obscure libertinism. But perhaps she was in the wrong not to prolong the constraint she wore to humour them.

The chastisement of the first soldiers who mutinied, had not entirely stifled the spirit of revolt. The removal of the archbishop of Novogorod and of Prince

cess d'Aschkoff, the young Grand-duke's infirm state of health, whose declining habit was obstinately imputed to his own mother, the compassion which Prince Ivan never failed to excite, every thing, in a word, furnished pretexts for discontent, and the papas employed them with much ability to agitate and inflame the people. There was a general commotion in the barracks. The danger became even so pressing, that the Empress beheld herself, for one whole day, on the point of meeting the fate of her husband. But her courage abandoned her not. Without assembling her council, she adopted secret measures to quell the tumult; and when the hetman Razoumoffsky, Bestuscheff, Panin, Cleboff, and many of the senate presented themselves to express to her their uneasiness, she said to them loftily:—
 "Wherefore alarm yourselves? Do you imagine I dare not look danger in the face? or rather are you afraid that I know not how to triumph over it? Recollect that you have beheld me in moments the most tremendous, preserving all my fortitude of soul, and that I am able to support the most cruel reverses of fortune with as much serenity as I have enjoyed her favours. Certain insolent caballers, a few mutinous soldiers, want to rob me of a crown which I accepted with regret, and in the view of rescuing the Russian nation from the calamities which threatened it. I know not under what pretext they disguise their audacity; I am ignorant of the means which they may possess; but, once more, they excite in me no dismay. Providence, which has raised me to a throne, will support me on it, for the glory and felicity of the empire, and the hand of Omnipotence will confound my enemies."

At the very moment she was holding this language, the Orloffs and their friends were exerting all their influence to quiet the guards, and money gained over those whom the promises and fine speeches of the fa-

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yourite had not been able to subdue. As soon as dependance could be placed on them, twenty-four of their officers were arrested and brought to trial. The four ringleaders were found guilty of high-treason, and sentenced to be quartered. But Catharine, who was sensible that it would be much less advantageous to her to suffer the sentence to be executed, than to give a striking display of clemency, commuted their punishment into banishment to Siberia; and as she wished at the same time to make an attempt to inspire the Russians with some dread of infamy, a dread of which they have no idea, though it has powerful influence in other nations, she ordered the four officers to be degraded and flogged by the hand of the common hangman.

While Catharine was thus treating her own subjects, she presented to foreign nations all the loftiness of her character. The French minister, one of the accommodating confidants of the loves of this Princess and of Poniatowsky, to no purpose solicited her to grant a *reversal* similar to those which had been obtained from Elizabeth and Peter III. on their accession to the throne, and which proved that the title of Empress made absolutely no change whatever in the ceremonial between the two courts. She even persisted with so much the more satisfaction in her refusal, that the difficulties which it occasioned furnished her with a pretence to keep that minister for a considerable time at a distance, and thereby prevented him from informing Poniatowsky of the change which had taken place in her affections. At last, she declared that the ceremonial should not be changed, but that no reversal should take place at the commencement of every new reign. She nevertheless gave secret orders to several of her ambassadors to take precedence of the French minister wherever they could.

Always uniting address to firmness, Catharine had the skill to seduce the most dangerous of the clergy,

and to check the cabals of the monks. She invited back to court the Princess d'Aschkoff, whose credit and intrigues at Moscow were capable of disturbing the repose of the empire. She sent home the Piedmontese Odart, whom his incessant accusations rendered hateful to every one about court. She purchased the trumpets of fame. The sound of her praises spread over Europe, and re-echoed back to Petersburg. The health of the young Grand-duke was restored. The hopes which this Prince inspired diverted the public eye from the prison of the unfortunate Ivan. The Russians began to be enured to a yoke which they had in vain attempted to shake off.

Ambition extinguished not in the soul of Catharine an ardent relish for pleasure. Nay, it was by this very relish that she contrived to attach her court more powerfully : but she knew how to renounce pleasure, and to make the transition to employments the most serious, and application the most indefatigable to the affairs of government. She assisted at all the deliberations of council, read the dispatches of her ambassadors, dictated, or minuted with her own hand, the answers to be returned, entrusted her ministers only with the details of business, and still kept her own eye on the execution. Anxious to cloak her vices under the lustre of her glory, and to efface the memory of her crimes by displays of grandeur, she acted up to maxims which she had frequently in her mouth—"It is necessary to be constant in our pursuits," said she. "It is better to go wrong than to recede from our purpose. Fools only are indolent."

BOOK V.

State of Europe—Catharine maintains Biren in Cour-land—Panin aims at changing the Form of the Russian Government—Bestuscheff dissuades the Empress, and tries to make her espouse Gregory Orloff—Plot laid at Moscow against Orloff's life—Lying-in of the Empress—State of Poland, from the Kings of the first Race down to the Election of Poniatowsky—Conspiracy at Peterburgh—Catharine's Expedition into Livonia—Massacre of Prince Ivan.

A. D. **W**E have already seen Catharine emerge 1763. from a petty German principality, and advance towards a throne, on the steps of which she stood tottering for almost twenty years. We have beheld her mount that throne, by hurling from it, in a moment, the husband who had called her to it, and taking sole possession, with much fewer obstacles than she herself apprehended. We now proceed to detail the sequel of her long reign and private life. In continuing this representation, my impartiality shall be uniform. I shall neither draw a veil over the great qualities of Catharine, nor conceal her slightest defects; I shall with equal freedom display her commendable actions, and her most scandalous weaknesses. I shall not produce a single fact of which I have not acquired the evidence; but will narrate every one that appears to me worthy of being made public. I will expose with intrepidity to the indignation of mankind a Princess who has too long usurped the admiration of the world, and in whose enormities many illustrious authors have, in some sort, been partakers, by the extravagant praises they have lavished upon her.

It may be proper, first of all, to throw a glance over the state of Europe, at the moment when Catharine II. assumed the reins of government.

Different treaties had just brought to a termination that war, known in the annals of Europe under the distinctive appellation of the Seven Years War, and one of the most terrible which ever deluged with blood the two hemispheres of the globe. The potentates who had engaged in it, and carried it on with so much animosity, felt no disposition to give up the contest from principles of wisdom or of humanity, but because the diminution of their armies, and the exhausted state of their finances reduced them to it.

Though supported by the exertions of France, Russia, Saxony, Sweden, and almost the whole empire of Germany, Austria did not recover possession of Silesia, which Frederick II. had before taken from her, and she lost, by the war, more than 140,000 men, and contracted a debt of 100,000,000 of crowns. This power, however, was still extremely formidable. Maria Theresa beheld herself, if not beloved, at least respected in her different estates. She possessed a soul lofty, intrepid, and the obstinacy hereditary in the Princes of that house. The war in which she had just lost so many soldiers, had left her in possession of her best generals, and had even formed others. The affairs of her cabinet were conducted by Count Kaunitz, a more able negotiator than statesman, and accustomed to unite the Italian cunning to all the stateliness of the German nobility.

Prussia had suffered much more than Austria, because the stress of the war had almost always pressed on the heart of her provinces. She had lost near 220,000 men, and beheld the destruction of her agriculture and commerce; but had contracted no debts. The contributions levied on hostile countries, the British subsidies, the depreciation of the coin,
and

and a rigid economy, had been sufficient to support the expences of the war. Frederick II. had rendered his name illustrious by brilliant victories, and his very defeats had contributed only to his glory. He knew mankind, and especially his rivals: his political were still superior to his military talents.

The Electorate of Saxony had lost no soldiers; her army had surrendered without having an opportunity of fighting. But the country was not the less oppressed by the calamities which war occasions. Enemies and friends had equally contributed to its desolation. Though Augustus III. was at once Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, he was not for that a whit more powerful. This Prince, of a character naturally destitute of energy, and farther enfeebled by age and the maladies which follow in the train of debauchery, was incapable of either governing his own subjects, or of opposing the courts of Vienna and Petersburg.

Sweden, which had been decoyed into the war, less from attachment to her allies than out of regard to the money which they gave her, lost 25,000 of her best troops, and introduced the greatest disorder into her finances, which exposed her the more to the necessity of submitting to the caprices of those powers which were best able to pay her. A fruitless attempt to confer on the King of Sweden all the authority which he shared with the senate, had just brought to the scaffold the Count de Brahé and several of his partisans, and rendered the senate more powerful than ever. Most of the senators were under the influence of the French ambassador, d'Havrincourt; and Adolphus-Frederick possessed neither ability nor courage to break his leading-strings.

Denmark and Norway had enjoyed the advantage of getting rich, while their neighbours were ruining themselves. Frederick V. who then governed these two states, was less of a devotee, but equally moderate, equally beneficent, equally economical as his

father Christian VI. had been; and though a body of his troops served in the pay of Great Britain, his estates had actually escaped the war. His subjects, at once laborious husbandmen and intrepid navigators, divided with the Dutch a great part of the carrying trade of Europe, a species of commerce of no great apparent advantage, but solidly beneficial. The marine of the King of Denmark consisted of 28 ships of the line, the same number of frigates, and some chebecs. He had an army of 36,000 regular troops; and could, on a short notice, assemble nearly as many well-disciplined militia. His finances were in excellent order. The conduct of his cabinet reflected honour on the penetration and prudence of the minister who presided in it. His army was commanded by the Count de Saint-Germain, a French officer of courage and ability, who, dissatisfied with the deportment of Mareschal Broglio, had withdrawn from the service of his own country, and entered into that of Denmark.

The French government had signalized itself by so much incapacity and imprudence during the whole period of the war, that it had reduced the most powerful nation of Europe to behold herself stripped of almost all her colonies, her marine and commerce ruined, and 200,000 of her soldiers slain. With immense resources, she had accumulated debt to a frightful degree. The creditors of the state received no longer the interest of their capital, and the luxury of financiers and of the agents of the court still added insult to their misery. And—can it ever be forgotten?—these multiplied disasters arose merely from the weakness of a Prince who, sometimes having started a salutary motion in council, knew not how to enforce obedience to it; and from the insolent ambition of a female favourite, who permitted no one but her contemptible flatterers to be at the head of the armies and of the ministry. A peace, not less disgraceful than the war, had aggravated the calamities

ties of France. But France was a vigorous body, which could re-establish itself; she has sufficiently proved this since, and without doubt will give further proofs of it.

Spain, involved in the war by the policy of the Duke de Choiseul, appeared to have taken up arms only in order to present new victories to the English. She beheld almost immediately several of her galleons taken, as well as the Havannah and the Philippine isles; and, on the restoration of peace, in order to recover these two possessions, she was obliged to yield to the conquerors that of Florida. Charles III. who had passed a short time before from the throne of Naples to that of Spain, was an easy Prince, a friend to peace, accustomed to be governed, and who had not for ministers either an Alberoni or a Ximenes.

England was the only power to which the war had been advantageous. It had cost her, indeed, 160,000 men; but these men were for the most part foreign mercenaries. She had enormously augmented the national debt: but her creditors were her own subjects, enriched at once by the prizes taken from France and Spain, and by the prodigious extension of their commerce. The peace had preserved to the English a considerable part of their conquests in India and in America, and they had reserved to themselves the means of rendering the Spanish colonies the tributaries of their commerce, although in a less degree than those of the Portuguese had for a long time been.

The cabinet of St. James's had seen a man of ordinary abilities supplant a man of genius. But succeeded Chatham; but the encroaching policy of this cabinet remained always the same, and the national spirit, at once haughty, enterprising and mercantile, underwent no alteration.

The war had only served to strengthen those ties which attached Portugal to England and estranged her from Spain; which sufficiently demonstrates that

interest has greater influence than religion, even over the most superstitious nation in Europe. The court of Lisbon, occupied incessantly with the mummeries of Popery, received law from that of London, which it regarded as heretical, and to which it was sold by its minister Pombal.

Holland, although in a less degree brought into subjection by England than Portugal, was equally devoted to her. Her seamen, her merchants, formerly the model of other nations, were now only the feeble imitators of the English. The cabinet of the Hague, eager to gratify that of St. James's, had lost all consequence; but Holland was still sufficiently rich, and had a navy sufficiently powerful to preserve a considerable preponderancy in the balance of Europe.

The petty states of Germany which form a part of the Germanic body, had become, for some time, very little to be dreaded, from the division of their princes. The seven years war had carried off a great number of men, and had caused immense devastations among some of them, without teaching them to be more at union among themselves.

Switzerland, although forming divers states, knew how to continue united, and constantly ready to arm, for her defence, an hundred thousand well disciplined soldiers. The riches acquired by some of her cities produced no alteration either in her love of liberty or in her virtues; her only fault was to sell a part of her troops, and to expose them sometimes mutually to cut each other's throats in foreign quarrels.

Italy, divided, like Switzerland and Germany, into several sovereignties, but not forming a single confederacy, was far less an object of apprehension. She still styled herself the native country of the fine arts, but was no longer that of talents. She had, instead of virtuous men, buffoons and singers, whom she called *virtuosi*, a species of beings whose celebrity always gives proof of the degeneracy and frivolity

volity of the nation which produces them. Rome had remained for a considerable period without influence in the courts of Europe. The Pope employed all his address to maintain an ecclesiastical superiority, more apparent than real, and to extort money from some nations, still blind enough to furnish him with it. Venice and Gênoa had lost, if not their riches, at least a considerable part of their commerce, even in the ports of the Levant; whose contiguity rendered a traffic with them so practicable.

The Ottoman empire was then what it had been for ages past, and what it is still, ignorant, fanatical, haughty and barbarous. However, the Ulthemas had already acquired a little more influence, and the authority of the Janissaries was in some degree diminished. The Turks, almost always conquered by the Russians, since Munich had commanded these last, and the conquerors of the Austrians since the death of Prince Eugene, had, at the instigation of Frederick, threatened the frontiers of Hungary, but they did not wish in reality to fight, and the Grand-Signior was sufficiently embarrassed to maintain his vast estates in subjection, without having occasion to make war with his neighbours.

Although Russia had carried on war at a distance from her frontiers, she felt its effects cruelly in her interior. Her losses were estimated at a hundred and twenty thousand men, and her extraordinary expences at forty millions of roubles. The unfortunate Peter III. had begun to restore peace; Catharine established it, by suspending the hostile projects which were on foot against Denmark; but the interior of the empire was still filled with a spirit of indignation and revolt which secretly convulsed it, and had given birth to the last revolution. Neither the severe judgment pronounced against the four principal ring-leaders of the insurrection of the guards, nor the affected clemency of the Empress, could stifle those sentiments

sentiments of hatred and vengeance which the spectacle of a glaring injustice always inspires.

Although Catharine attempted to conceal from herself the enormity of her crimes, or rather, although she flattered herself that her subjects were ignorant of the full extent of her guilt in accomplishing the death of her husband, she felt that the recollection of his death could not be soon effaced, and that this idea of it could not be obliterated but by some brilliant novelties and by some fortunate enterprises. But she likewise knew that there were too many obstacles which still opposed themselves to these enterprises, and that the narrowness of her finances, and sound policy, imposed peace on her.

She employed herself therefore with extreme care in the administration of her vast estates, the progress of commerce, the augmentation of her marine, and above all, in devising the most proper means to procure money, without altogether observing the strictest economy; for her pride would not permit her to lay aside the Asiatic luxury which, from the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, had been displayed by the court of Russia. Besides, she thought it was necessary for her to keep up this luxury, in order to deceive foreign nations respecting her real situation, in the expectation of one day exciting their astonishment by her conquests.

After having transacted business with her ministers, that Princess conversed frequently, and always in private, sometimes with Bestuscheff, sometimes with Munich. One made her acquainted with the politics and the resources of the different courts of Europe, the other communicated to her the plan which he had traced during his exile in Siberia, to drive the Turks from Constantinople, a plan which singularly flattered the ambition of Catharine, and which, thirty years afterwards, we have seen almost on the point of being put in execution.

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She so well understood her own talents, her courage, and all the advantage which she might derive from her power, that, chatting one day in a confidential manner with a foreign minister, more calculated to applaud her errors than to appreciate her genius, she enquired of him if he believed that the peace which had just been concluded at Hubertsburgh would be of long duration? The minister replied, that the exhausted state of the people, and the wisdom of the sovereigns who governed them, seemed to promise a repose of several years: but he added, that she ought to be better able to judge than he was, since she could, from her superior illumination, estimate the political system of the courts of Europe, and, by her forces direct them at her pleasure. Catharine; upon this, assuming an air of modesty, said to him:—"You think then that the eyes of Europe are at present fixed upon me, and that I am held in some consideration at the principal courts?" The reply could not fail to be in the affirmative. She listened with complacency; afterwards, arraying herself in all the imperial dignity:—"I believe in effect," replied she, "that Russia is worthy of attention. I have the finest army in the world. I am in want of money, it is true, but I shall be abundantly supplied in a few years. If I allowed myself to follow my own propensities I should rather prefer war to peace; but humanity, justice and reason restrain me. However, I will not follow the example of the Empress Elizabeth. I will not permit myself to be persuaded to undertake a war; I will make it when it shall appear to be to my advantage, but never out of complaisance to others."—She added, that it would be impossible to begin to form a judgment of her till five years had past; that she must have that period at least to re-establish order in her empire, and to reap the fruit of her labours; but that in the mean time she would
conduct

conduct herself towards all the princes of Europe like a sagacious coquette.

These words were literally true. The minister believed they were dictated by vanity. However, he hastened to reply to them by a flattering compliment.

The first effort of her influence which Catharine made was in favor of Biren, who experienced some difficulties on the part of the senate of Mittau. On recalling the troops which were in Pomerania, that Princess gave them orders to march into Courland, to support the pretensions of her *protégé*. She then sent into Poland another army, under the command of Count Romanzoff, an army which was speedily augmented by the twenty thousand auxiliaries commanded by General Tchernischeff, under Prussian colours.

During the long exile of Biren, the states of Courland, regarding him as having forfeited his title of Duke, had elected in his place Prince Charles of Saxony, the third son of Augustus III. King of Poland. That Prince, supported by the credit of his father, and by the wishes of the Courlanders, seemed entitled to bear away the palm from a competitor whom his reputation for cruelty rendered odious. But the presence of the Russian armies easily silenced the good will which was entertained for the Duke Charles. Simolin, the envoy of Catharine, very soon dictated to the senate of Mittau the laws of his sovereign; and a declaration given at Moscow in favour of Biren, threatened the King of Poland with war, and obliged him to give the investiture of Courland to the plunderer of his son.

Satisfied with so much docility, Catharine employed her mediation with Maria-Theresa and with Frederick, to persuade them to withdraw their troops from the hereditary states of the King of Poland: but she could not at once obtain this. The Empress
Queen

Queen attributed the blame of it to the King of Prussia, who did not fail to throw it back upon her. Happily peace did not permit them to continue these acts of injustice.

Frederick, who had known for a long time of how much importance the friendship of Catharine might be, and who desired to acquire it, was one of her most assiduous wheedlers. He offered her the order of the Black Eagle, which she accepted with gratitude, and with which she decorated herself whilst she was still at Moscow. Without doubt this Princess had not forgotten that it had been made a crime in her husband to wear a Prussian order. But she wished to evince to her subjects that she was not without some degree of consequence in foreign courts; and what had been a fault in him became in her a trait of address.

Some new dissensions arose at that time between the court of Petersburg and that of Copenhagen, respecting the administration of Holstein. By a treaty secretly concluded thirteen years before between the Kings of Denmark and of Sweden, the latter had yielded to the former his rights to the regency of Holstein, during the minority of the young Grand-duke; for the court of Denmark had for a long time coveted a principality which lay so conveniently for her, and which she has since acquired. She beheld with vexation the return of Prince George, who came to govern there in the name of Russia. She even refused at first to acknowledge his authority. But Catharine threatened: it was an object of dread to see the Russian troops once more on the road to Holstein. The Danish commissaries evacuated Kehl, and an envoy extraordinary from Copenhagen arrived at Moscow to apologize for the King his master.

The courts of Petersburg and of Stockholm lived at that period in the most perfect intelligence. United by the ties of blood, they were both under an equal

equal necessity of maintaining peace, and Russia had not as yet given any premonition of that enormous aggrandisement of power by which she, several years afterwards, inspired Sweden and her other neighbours with terror.

Tranquil with respect to the intentions of the princes of Europe, Catharine could not be equally so relatively to those of her own subjects. She did however every thing which she thought most calculated to attach them to her. Naturally generous, she was still more so from policy. The desire of augmenting the number of her creatures rendered her even prodigal, and her apprehensions were the cause of her ruin.

She carefully habituated herself in an indulgence foreign to her nature. She not only restored liberty to Goudowitz, Wolkoff and Melgounoff, but gave to the last the command of a body of troops, and to the second the lieutenancy of the government of Oremburgh. Goudowitz refused to accept of any thing.

During the first months which succeeded the bloody catastrophe of Peter III. Catharine had had but little time to open her eyes to all the horrors of her crime: but reflection, though frequently tardy, is always productive of remorse; and the daring soul of this Princess could not stifle it entirely. Besides, conspiracies were incessantly breaking out afresh. They were discovered, they were prevented, but the causes of them could not be annihilated. Catharine felt so much the more the embarrassment of her situation that she affected to conceal her alarms.

Another of her secret sources of affliction was, that since Gregory Orloff had been acknowledged as her lover, the men most distinguished from their birth, envious of the good fortune of this favourite, or disgusted with his haughtiness, kept at a distance from court. Catharine frequently beheld no one around her but vulgar soldiers, who strangely abused the claims which they thought they had upon her gratitude.

tude. It was not their past services that she recompensed. Perhaps she would have willingly dispensed with them: but she paid in advance those which they might still be able to render her; and her bounty, and the honours she heaped upon them, augmented their insolence and their avarice. But, notwithstanding, she frequently blushed at the deference which she imagined herself obliged to pay them; and, as an apology for their faults, she frequently commended in them qualities which they did not possess: "I do not lead a comfortable life," said she one day. "I know that the people who surround me are destitute of education; but I am indebted to them for the situation I now hold. They are replete with courage and probity, and I am very certain they will never betray me." One part of this declaration could not possibly be sincere. The accomplices of Catharine were not deficient in courage; but as to their probity, In what did it consist?

Amongst these haughty and brutal courtiers Panin was almost the only one who distinguished himself by polished manners and a mind tolerably well cultivated. He enjoyed, notwithstanding, but a secondary degree of favour. He always kept in view the aristocratic senate which he wished to make Peter III. establish, and seized every opportunity which offered of setting forth its pretended advantages to those with whom he conversed. Observing one day that Catharine seemed to undergo an impression of extraordinary terror, he thought it the favourable moment of developing his project to her entirely, and for prevailing on her to adopt it. After having exaggerated the dangers which he apprehended on her account, and the difficulty of avoiding those commotions which always succeed an usurpation, he added, that she had nevertheless one means of deliverance, and of rendering her throne from that instant immoveable; but that he much feared a false delicacy

delicacy might prevent her making use of such means. Catharine entreated him to explain himself. He immediately detailed to her the principles of a system of government which a long experience of the inconveniencies attending it did not prevent him from admitting. "The Muscovitish sovereigns," added he, "have till now enjoyed a power unbounded; but it is the very extent of that power which renders it dangerous to the person who is the depositary of it; since an audacious preterder may every instant usurp it, and the usurper is above the reach of the laws. Take my advice, Madam:—Make the sacrifice of an absolute authority. Create a fixed and permanent council which may guarantee the crown to you. Declare solemnly that you renounce for yourself and your successors the power of deposing at pleasure the members of this august assembly. Declare, that if they commit any crime or heinous offence, their compeers alone shall have the right of trying and condemning them, upon exact and severe information. From the moment you adopt so wise a measure, it will be forgotten that you ascended the throne by violence, and the only idea entertained will be, that you wish to maintain yourself on it solely by the execution of justice."

Catharine, who was flattered with every thing novel or extraordinary, deemed this project sublime, and believed, that in renouncing an arbitrary power she was going at once to acquire an immortal glory, and to conciliate for ever the love of her subjects. She would undoubtedly have been in the right, had it been her plan to render them equally and progressively free, and to give them a senate, the members of which were to have been taken indiscriminately from all classes, and elected by the majority of suffrages. But to leave a whole nation in the most degrading, the most cruel slavery, and to chuse by favour a senate from a privileged order, was not this replacing one master

master by twenty or thirty tyrants? And is not the despotism of corps always more terrible, and more immovable, than that of individuals.

However, Catharine ordered Panin to commit his plan to writing and to present it to her, and she expressed herself in such a manner as to give him reason to believe she intended to put it into execution. Panin hastened to obey her; and the better to ensure success, he put the name of Gregory Orloff at the head of those whom he destined to compose the new senate. The favourite appeared flattered with this mark of distinction, but demanded time to meditate upon it; and, before he gave Panin his answer, consulted Bestuscheff, who, that he might still perform a part, consented to enlighten by his experience the man who was honoured through the caprice of the sovereign. Bestuscheff felt too sensibly the value of a power which he had so long directed, not to tremble at beholding it taken out of the hands of Catharine. He immediately paid a visit to this Princess, represented to her, in a forcible manner, all the danger of the step which Panin persuaded her to hazard, and conjured her not to expose herself to a late repentance, by dividing an authority which she had acquired with so much difficulty, and which she would never recover, if she parted with it for a single moment.

The Empress easily perceived the wisdom of the counsels of the aged chancellor, and promised to follow them. On making his appearance again before her, Panin found her already dissuaded. She rendered justice to his zeal, applauded his understanding, but acknowledged that it was impossible for her to profit by them. The minister was sensibly hurt by an alteration so sudden. Obligated to dissemble in the presence of Catharine, he vented his ill-humour amongst his friends, and could not help saying to one of them, in confiding to him these particulars:—"If the Empress is determined to take

“upon herself solely the management of affairs, you will see how badly we shall govern.” These words prove that Panin listened rather to his resentment than to his reason, or that he was very little capable of forming a judgment of Catharine.

However, Panin soon discovered that to Bestuscheff alone he was indebted for the miscarriage of his enterprize, and found an opportunity of avenging himself, in rendering abortive, in his turn, a project which the ambitious old man had formed, in order to render himself more necessary. A witness of the amours of Catharine, Bestuscheff had known, for a long time past, that she always gave herself blindly up to them, and that to favour the object of her passion, she was capable of making the greatest sacrifices. He remarked besides, that not one of her former lovers had ever possessed so great an empire over her as Gregory Orloff. In truth, this favourite became every day more dear to the Empress. His masculine beauty, which had given birth to the attachment of this Princess, and which was still heightened by an air of confidence and self-sufficiency, which the high degree of favour he enjoyed could not fail to inspire, the important services which he had rendered to Catharine, those which it was still in his power to contribute, the secret claims with which the certainty of beholding her again a mother, furnished him, every thing, in a word, secured the ascendant of Orloff. Catharine had endeavoured for some time to conceal her connection with him, under the veil of decency; but, whether from the excess of love, or from policy, she very soon laid aside all mystery, and even seemed to glory in openly avowing her attachment.

It was, above all, in the feasts and the exhibitions given in the interior of her apartments, that she chiefly banished all constraint. She had on one occasion assembled a numerous party at the representation of a French tragedy, in which Orloff performed the

the principal character; and, perceiving that she was seduced by one of the confidants of Poniatowiky, she was at pains, during the whole of the performance, to point out to him the dignity, the graces, the intellectual powers of her new lover. Afterwards, calling to mind that he had the reputation of being deficient in understanding, and that she herself had formerly agreed in that opinion with this same confidant, she wished to alter his sentiments on the subject, and said in a whisper:—"Trust me, if Orloff plays the fool, it is the better to divert himself at the expense of the courtiers."

But, to return to the project of Bestuscheff. Well assured of the passion of the Empress, this old courtier gave Orloff to understand the wish which he had to see him Emperor. He at the same time awakened his ambition and roused his pride. "Gregoriewitz," said he to him, "it is in vain that Catharine has given you her heart, if she does not add her hand to it. She knows with what zeal and courage you have served her. She knows to what perils you have exposed yourself to invest her with the supreme power. She cannot then give you a suitable recompense, but in making you a partner of that throne for which she is indebted to you. And, how should she refuse this? Who, better than you, can maintain this throne against the numerous conspirators, who for some time past have been endeavouring to subvert it? Who, rather than you, should be agreeable to this Princess, under the double title of her lover and her defender? Yes, undoubtedly, she idolizes you; and I am sufficiently acquainted with her to be convinced, that she will do for you every thing to which you dare to pretend. It is necessary, then, my dear Gregoriewitz, this day to take advantage of the incessant favour of fortune. To-morrow, perhaps, it will be too late. The heart of Catharine, of which you seem to be at present so sure, may

"change in an instant to another. Soltikoff and Poniatowsky afford proof that her loves do not last for ever. Even death may deprive you of her; and if you do not inherit her power, her death may expose you to be punished for what you did in her behalf.

"I am sensible, nevertheless, that it is not your part to demand the hand of the Empress. She would, perhaps, oppose obstacles which delicacy might prevent you from combatting. A refusal might subject you to a mutual constraint. Confide, then, in my long experience, and in my friendship. I know how to persuade the Empress herself to offer you her crown. I promise you that I will not hazard a single proposition to which I am not fully assured she will accede; but, promise me on your part, that you will allow me to act alone, and that you will even feign ignorance of the steps I am taking."

Orloff had listened to the old chancellor with the greatest attention. Presumptuous and volatile, he imagined himself for a moment on the throne of the Czars; and throwing himself into the arms of Bestuscheff, promised him every thing he desired.

Bestuscheff being with the Empress the same day, artfully sounded her respecting the marriage which he wished her to contract; and she appeared to him so much the more disposed to form this connection, as she was then in a situation well calculated to make her desirous of it. She said, however, to the chancellor that, whatever inclination she had to espouse her lover, she would never resolve upon it, if that alliance was to meet with any impediments; and she acknowledged, that after maturely reflecting upon it, she did not see how it was possible to form it without exciting a revolt throughout the empire.

The chancellor took upon himself to find the means. He composed, in the name of the Russian nation, a very artful request, in which, after a pompous

pous eulogy on all that the Empress had undertaken for the glory and the happiness of her people, he pointed out the sickly constitution of young Paul Petrowitz, and the frequent uneasiness which the state of his health occasioned; and conjured Catharine to give to the empire a fresh proof of her affection, by sacrificing her own liberty and assuming a consort.

To conceal his real intentions from those who might be subservient to them, Bestuscheff began by proposing Prince Ivan, well knowing that all those who might sign the request, would reject that unfortunate young man. At the same time, Catharine, who directed the old courtier, wishing to have the air of approving that proposition, and always apprehensive that Ivan might be all at once released from his prison and crowned, ordered him to be transferred from the castle of Schlusselfburgh to a convent, near Archangel, where, as if with a design to make him feel more sensibly the calamity which awaited him, he was treated for some time with all the honours due to his rank: but he was soon after in the most private manner re-conveyed to Schlusselfburgh.

That which the old chancellor had foreseen did not fail to take place. When he presented the request to the clergy, twelve bishops, gained before hand, hastened to sign it, under a specification that Catharine should not espouse Prince Ivan, because he might punish her for her benefits, and pretend that to his own rights alone he was indebted for the throne. They requested at the same time, that the Empress would herself deign to chuse amongst her subjects that person whom she thought the most worthy to be a partaker of her throne.

A very considerable number of general officers adhered to the sentiments of the bishops. Had it not been for the address of Panin, and the courage of the hetman Kyrille Razoumoffsky, and of chancellor Woronzoff, the artifice of Bestuscheff would have

succeeded, and the grandson of a strelitz, escaped from the axe, would have been the Emperor of all the Russias.

Panin persuaded Razoumoffsky and Woronzoff to represent to Catharine all that was humiliating and dangerous in the projected union. The hetman spoke to her with the bluntness of his character, and the authority which his fortune and his services gave him. Woronzoff, throwing himself at her feet, supplicated her not to enter into a marriage which was pregnant with the greatest misfortunes. His representations were extremely intrepid, and displayed in him a firmness of which he was not believed to be capable. But Catharine, who was never embarrassed, affected the utmost surprise; and, after having made her acknowledgments for the friendship of Razoumoffsky, and commended the noble courage of Woronzoff, she protested:—"That the idea of the marriage which they apprehended, had never presented itself to her mind; that it was certainly without her knowledge an intrigue so odious had been carried on, and that as Bestuscheff was the author of it, she should bring him to punishment for it." However, she was careful not to shew any mark of displeasure to an old man who, in concert with herself, had only sought to gratify her inclinations, and whom she believed it was still of importance for her to treat with kindness.

Bestuscheff beheld, then, his project fall to the ground, without finding that his credit appeared in any degree shaken by it. On the contrary, he rose every day in the good graces of the Empress and of the favourite, whereas Woronzoff met with coldness only. Well assured from this, that too much zeal for the glory of Catharine was not always the means of gaining her favour, and that his disgrace was already resolved upon, Woronzoff was eager to prevent a forced retreat by a voluntary exile. He gave out that his health was impaired by the labours of the

the cabinet ; and under pretext of re-establishing it, requested permission to travel for two years in foreign countries. The Empress, whom his presence laid under restraint, granted him this permission with a secret joy ; she, however, feigned the utmost regret at parting with him. She expressed towards him, in public, the utmost esteem and good will, and entreated him aloud to hasten his return to re-assume his ministerial functions, which he had discharged, she added, with so much benefit to the empire.

However, the apprehension of seeing Catharine espouse the audacious wretch who had assisted in precipitating her unfortunate husband from the throne, occasioned violent murmurs. Several unsuccessful conspiracies were formed against her and her favourite. One only was once upon the point of being carried into effect. A guard kept watch at the door of Orloff, as at that of the Empress. One of the sentinels was gained over, who promised to deliver him, when asleep, to three of the conspirators. But the right hour had been misunderstood ; and when the conspirators presented themselves, the sentinel who was to have seconded them, was already relieved by another. This other, surprized at seeing these men, demanding entrance into the apartment of Orloff, raised an alarm which collected the rest of the guard. The conspirators had only time to make their escape under favour of the uniform which they wore.

This commotion spread an alarm through the palace. Catharine was awakened. She believed that her life was no longer in safety in Moscow, and hastened to quit that city and to return to Petersburg. The day of her departure was signalized by the transports of an outrageous joy, even by an excess of fury. Her portrait had been placed upon a triumphal arch, in the great square of Moscow ; the people tore it down, and broke it in pieces after having dragged it through the dirt.

Catharine arrived at Petersburg the day of the anniversary of her accession to the throne. Knowing well, that in order to maintain an ascendant over the minds of the common people it is necessary frequently to dazzle their eyes, she spared nothing to render her entrance magnificent. Her carriage was preceded by all the regiments of guards, and accompanied by those of the foreign ministers, and of the numerous courtiers, whom ambition and vanity attracted into her train. This pomp had not, however, the effect which Catharine expected from it. It excited astonishment rather than joy, and only served to irritate still further those minds which had been incensed by her who displayed it. The number of malecontents increased. Conspiracies multiplied, and became more dangerous from the respectable names associated in them. Amongst the enemies of Catharine were publicly reckoned the most powerful personages of the empire, and even those who had been most serviceable to her. The hetman Razoumoffsky, Count Panin and his brother were of this number, and it appeared certain, that if these different conspirators could have cast their eyes on a prince worthy of uniting their views, Catharine would have lost the crown. But one party wished to elevate the Grand-duke Paul Petrowitz to the throne, another had a desire to recal the unfortunate Ivan. All embarrassed, all uncertain, they equally formed the project of de-throning the Empress, without agreeing upon the person whom they were to chuse for her successor.

Catharine, secretly advertized of the design of Panin and Razoumoffsky, was at one period on the point of ordering them to be arrested; but she possessed only uncertain indications, suspicions which might deceive her, and she was sensible that by a rigour, perhaps misplac'd, towards men very highly respected, she might run the risk of occasioning a general insurrection. She therefore resolved to make use

use of stratagem, a method which had been so frequently serviceable to her.

Although shortly after the revolution which had placed her on the throne, she had repaid with the utmost ingratitude the devotedness and the courage of Princess d'Aschkoff, and though even after she had been obliged to recal her to court, she treated her with a great degree of coldness, she pretended all at once a wish to restore her to confidence. She had no doubt that Princess d'Aschkoff was an accomplice in the conspiracies which her ancient friends were forming. She knew her to be of an obstinate disposition, but she likewise knew her to be possessed of considerable vivacity and imprudence. She was in hopes, therefore, of drawing some confessions from her which might clear up her doubts. She wrote her a very long letter, in which, after having lavished on her the most tender appellations, the most advantageous promises, and all the flatteries best calculated to seduce her, she conjured her in the name of their ancient friendship, to reveal to her all she knew of the recent conspiracies, assuring her at the same time, that she would grant a pardon to all those who were concerned in them. The Princess d'Aschkoff, incensed to find that Catharine imagined she could make her the instrument of her vengeance as she had been that of her ambition, replied in only four lines to the four pages of the Empress: This was her reply:—"Madam, I have heard nothing; but if I had, I should be very careful not to utter it. What do you require of me? That I should expire upon the scaffold? I am ready to mount it!"

Astonished at so much haughtiness, and hopeless of vanquishing her, Catharine endeavoured to attach to her those whom she durst not punish. Some subordinate conspirators, who had been arrested, and who persisted in maintaining silence with regard to their accomplices, were exiled to Siberia: but the

Panins

Panins and Razoumoffsky received several new marks of favour.

However, as conspiracies were incessantly renewed, and as the clemency shewn to the culprits seemed to harden them in their criminality, Catharine declared that in future she would no longer conform to the edict by which the Empress Elizabeth had promised not to allow any criminal to be put to death. She believed that unfortunately the Russians would not be restrained but by the dread of punishment. She discovered afterwards that this apprehension was not a sufficient restraint upon them. Ought she not likewise to have perceived, at the same time, that the only method of diminishing the number of criminals, is to diffuse instruction, to establish solemnly the principles of good morals, and to honour those who put them in practice? Many laws have been made for punishing crimes; institutions in favour of virtue have been too much neglected.

Catharine did not appear to be very sensible of the advantage arising from such institutions, but she neglected nothing which seemed at all calculated to contribute to the prosperity of her empire. At the very moment when she had the most powerful reasons to be apprehensive for her personal safety, she occupied herself in the details of government with as much assiduity and calmness as if she had been to reign for ever. She founded hospitals; she encouraged commerce and industry; she caused new vessels to be put upon the stocks. Perceiving with pain that the population of her states was by no means proportioned to their vast extent, and that the lands of her most fertile provinces produced but meagre harvests, from a deficiency of labourers, she published a declaration, inviting all foreigners to come and settle in Russia. She promised them considerable advantages, and especially the free exercise of their religion, with the liberty of quitting the country
when

when they wished it, and of carrying with them the property which they might have acquired, on condition of their leaving a certain portion to the treasury. It was of very little consequence, undoubtedly, to this Princess, that those who should come to settle in her states were of a different religion from her's, provided they approved themselves intelligent cultivators, laborious manufacturers, and peaceable citizens. As to the riches which she inspired them with the hope of carrying away, she knew very well that most men who have made establishments in a country, attach themselves to those establishments, in proportion to their importance, and have but rarely the resolution to quit them.

Although Poniatowsky could not be ignorant that Orloff had been long the preferred lover of Catharine, he attempted still to re-ignite, by his letters, the passion with which he had formerly inspired this Princess. In hopes that, perhaps, his presence might ensure him a triumph over his rival, he supplicated the Empress to permit him to come to Petersburg in the most private manner. But his solicitations were ineffectual. Catharine knew too well what she had to apprehend from the violence of Orloff, to consent to a journey which could not fail of being discovered. She therefore ceased to dissemble with the Polonese; but in acknowledging that she no longer felt any love for him, she assured him of her constant friendship, and promised to give him proofs of it on every occasion which presented itself. She was not slow, as facts evinced, in realizing this promise.

During a part of this year, Catharine kept herself generally shut up in her palace. She even stole away sometimes from her court to make little excursions to those of her pleasure-houses, which were least frequented, and whither she was accompanied only by two or three faithful confidants. Although it seemed to her a matter of indifference that her connections with Orloff were known, she wished however to conceal

veal that she was pregnant; and pretending an indisposition, that she might not have to appear for some days, brought into the world a child, which some persons say was a daughter, and others, that Bobrinsky whose conduct has so ill repaid her for the danger to which she exposed herself on his account.

Scarcely was Catharine delivered of her burden, than the interest of her ancient lover, or rather policy, attracted her regards toward Poland. This kingdom had felt for some time past the influence of Russia, and that influence was so much the more powerful under Catharine, that independently of the army of Romanzoff, encamped upon the banks of the Vistula, fifty thousand men were in different divisions, in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. Augustus III. exhausted still more by his debaucheries than by the vexation which he had suffered from the invasion of Saxony, could not be far from the termination of his days. All those who had any pretensions to be his successors, began to put themselves in motion, and the court of Petersburg was the centre of their intrigues. The haughty Catharine could not but be flattered to behold herself the arbitress of her ambitious rivals. But whilst she amused herself with keeping up their divisions and their hopes, she had secretly adopted her resolution. It was necessary for her to have a king with whose feeble character and servile submission she was well acquainted: She made choice of Poniatowsky.

Poland, which has sometimes performed so brilliant a part on the theatre of Europe, and which, from the extent of her territory, the fertility of her soil, the understanding and the courage of her inhabitants, seemed to have a title to acquire still greater consequence, has lost by the vices of her government a part of the advantages which she derived from nature.

It is not unimportant to call to remembrance, in this place, the state of this rich and unfortunate country,

try, which we shall behold more than once exciting the ambition of Catharine, and which she has desolated for a long time, the better to prepare it for invasion.

The history of Poland, like that of almost all the other countries of Europe, goes back to an epocha sufficiently remote to be replete with uncertainty. The utmost that we know is, that Poland was formerly governed by a race of kings whose power was almost absolute. To this race succeeded the Piasts, who, it is believed, were elective; but who long preserved the crown in their family. The kingdom was frequently in commotion from the pretensions of the nobles who formed a body against the monarch, and opposed a power to him which equalled his own.

One of the last kings of the race of the Piasts, Casimir, surnamed the Great, or the father of the peasantry, repressed the dangerous and always turbulent authority of the grandees, by raising them numerous rivals amongst the inferior nobility, to whom he granted divers privileges. But whatever might be this Prince's love of justice, and whatever interest he might take in the wretched peasantry, it was never in his power to ameliorate the barbarous condition to which they were condemned in Poland.

Louis of Hungary, the nephew and successor of Casimir, could not profit by the advantages which that monarch had acquired, because in bestowing the crown upon him, the Polish noblesse obliged him to subscribe to burthensome conditions. On the death of Louis, who left no male heir, that turbulent noblesse offered the throne to Ladislaus Jagellon, Duke of Lithuania, and imposed on him the same conditions as they had done upon Louis. One of these conditions was, not to impose taxes without consent of the diets. His successors were, as well as himself, incessantly obliged to make new sacrifices, in order to procure the money for which they had occasion;

sion; and finally, they forced Sigismund-Augustus to acknowledge, that upon his death the throne should become absolutely elective. This Prince, who had no son, consented without difficulty to make a declaration by which he purchased to himself repose. A short time after, a charter was drawn up, which became the basis and the guarantee of this privilege. The four principal articles of the charter were:

1st. That the crown should be elective, and that the King should never have it in his power to give it to a successor during his life-time.

2d. That general diets should be assembled every two years.

3d. That all the Polish nobility should have the right of suffrage in the election of a king.

4th. That if the king should take upon him to infringe the laws, and undervalue the privileges of the nation, the subjects should be absolved from their oath of fidelity.

The privileges guaranteed by this charter were still further extended, and all the successors of Sigismund-Augustus down to Stanislaus Poniatowsky inclusively, have only been elected on swearing to maintain them. Could less then be expected from Princes who received the crown as a mark of favour, and who, if they had not accepted it on these conditions, would have been excluded, to make way for a competitor less difficult? The more that the nobility aggrandized their power the more they abused it. Not contented with freely giving their suffrages, they made traffic of them. Henry of Valois was the first who purchased by dint of gold and of promises the throne of the Jagellons, a method which has since then yielded only to the terror of arms.

On each accession to the throne the noblesse usurped some new privilege. Under the reign of John Casimir was created the *liberum veto*, that right given to each nobleman to put a stop alone to the deliberations of a whole diet, and to dissolve it at the pleasure

pleasure of individual caprice; a right which has been one of the principal sources of the disorders, of the anarchy, and of the total destruction of Poland.

But when we behold that every gentleman was in possession of a power so extensive, we may form a judgment of that which was enjoyed by the Palatines, the superior officers, and all the rich Poles in general. Sometimes they raised regiments independently of the authority of the King; sometimes they formed confederacies which, under pretext of defending the laws, disseminated disturbance and revolt, and, under the name of liberty, exercised the most absurd tyranny.

Such are the Polish nobles, whose blind ambition, during three hundred years, has by degrees completed the ruin of their country. That nation, naturally brave, which frequently vanquished the Ottomans, and which gave laws to Prussia and to Russia, has not been able, since the commencement of these dissensions, to resist one of the armies which have attacked her. The Kings of Sweden, Charles-Gustavus and Charles XII. have conquered her in their turns; and from the moment that the Russians have had it in their power to oppose disciplined troops to her brilliant and licentious *pospolite*, they have beheld themselves so much her masters as to impose laws upon her.

Nevertheless, these Polanders who called themselves so free, were they so in reality, even when they exercised this boasted right of electing their kings? The age in which we live has several times seen the contrary, and one of the men best acquainted with their history, has challenged them to find in it two examples of a free election.

There are few of the great powers of Europe who have not had in a greater or less degree an influence over these elections; but, for more than fifty years, Russia is the only one which has in reality had the direction of them.

Such

Such was the situation of Poland when the death of Augustus III. revived the cabals of pretenders to the throne, and furnished Catharine with the means of displaying all the ascendant of her policy. That Princess, whom the courts of Vienna and of Versailles wished to detach from Prussia, began by artfully obtaining from these courts a promise that they would not take any part in the affairs of Poland. The Marquis de Paulmy, ambassador from France to Warsaw; declared to the diet, that Louis XV. would not intermeddle, in the least degree, in the election of the new king; and in a short time the Count de Bercy made the same declaration in the name of Maria-Theresa.

However, the promise of these two courts was not sufficient for Catharine. She likewise wished to be secure of not meeting with any opposition from that of Berlin; she succeeded in this. Frederick had for a long time solicited her to sign a defensive treaty of alliance, and she had herself so much the more inclination to agree to this, that she employed greater artifice to make him desire it. Imagining, therefore, that the delays she made to the signature of this treaty arose merely from her aversion to a minister who had been the friend of her husband, the Prussian monarch made choice of a plenipotentiary who, of necessity, could not fail of being more agreeable to this Princess: he sent to Petersburg the Count de Solms, married to a Princess of Anhalt-Bernburgh, cousin-german of Catharine. Solms met with a favourable reception from the Empress, and he very soon concluded with her, in the name of the King of Prussia, a defensive treaty of alliance, which was to last eight years. The two powers reciprocally guaranteed their possessions, and bound themselves not to make peace or truce without mutual consent. They promised besides to each other, in case of war, an aid of a corps of ten thousand infantry and two thousand horse. But a secret article stipulated, that if the Empress should

should be attacked on the side of the Crimea, or the King of Prussia on the side of the Rhine, the aid of troops should be compensated by a subsidy of four hundred thousand roubles, or four hundred and four-score thousand Prussian crowns.

Frederick, whom disputes with Austria, and his projects of aggrandisement, inspired incessantly with the presages of a new war, flattered himself that the cause of the subsidies would be advantageous to him. But time has shewn that, in contracting this engagement, Catharine well understood how to turn it to her own profit.

The treaty contained another secret article relative to Poland. It is as follows:

“ As it is for the interest of his Majesty the
 “ King of Prussia, and of her Majesty the Empress
 “ of all the Russias, to employ all their attention
 “ and all their efforts in order that the republic
 “ of Poland may be maintained in her state of
 “ free election, and that no person whatever may
 “ be permitted to render the said kingdom heredi-
 “ tary in his family, or make himself absolute there,
 “ his Majesty the King of Prussia and her Imperial
 “ Majesty have promised, and have mutually en-
 “ gaged in the most positive manner, by this secret
 “ article, not only to prohibit such person, whoever
 “ he may be, to attempt to deprive the republic of
 “ her right of free election, to render the kingdom
 “ hereditary, or to make himself absolute, in every
 “ case in which this might happen ; but still further
 “ to prevent, and to annihilate by every means pos-
 “ sible, and with one common accord, the views and
 “ the designs which might tend to this conclusion,
 “ as soon as they shall be discovered, and even to
 “ have, in case of necessity, recourse to the force
 “ of arms, to protect the republic from any subver-
 “ sion of her constitution and her fundamental laws.
 “ This present secret article shall have the same
 “ force and vigour as if it had been inserted word

“for word in the principal treaty of alliance defensive signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

“In the faith of which two exact copies of it have been taken, which we, the ministers plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and of her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, authorized to this effect, have signed and sealed with the impression of our arms.

“Done at Petersburg, the 11th of April (31st March, O. S.) 1764.

“C. DE SOLMS,

“PANIN,

“GALLITZIN.”

The new sovereign of Saxony, who flattered himself with the hope of obtaining the throne of Augustus III. his father, as he had inherited his electorate, made application to the Empress, to entreat her to be favourable to his pretensions; but she, without hesitation, put an end to all his expectations. She gave him to understand, “that she advised him, as a sincere friend, not to expose his interests in an affair of which the issue could not be correspondent to his views.”

Proud of the authority which she possessed in Poland, Catharine discarded, one after another, the candidates who were disagreeable to her, without however declaring herself as yet with respect to him whom she intended to favour. The principal part of the Polish nobles wished to elect a Piast, a descendant from their ancient kings. Catharine appeared also for some time to desire it. But all at once Warsaw learnt, with extreme astonishment, that it was for Poniatowski that this Princess destined the throne. This choice excited almost universal discontent, and violent murmurs. The Polish grandees, filled with indignation at beholding, on the point of reigning over them, a young man of a birth but little illustrious, and whose elevation was not to be justified





STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS PONIATOWSKY.

Elected King of Poland, Sept. 7.th 1764.

dethroned in April 1793.

died at Petersburg, Feb.^{ry} 12.th 1798.

Published Feb.^{ry} 12.th 1800, by J. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

fied either by brilliant actions or great virtues, demanded of each other what services Poniatowsky had rendered the republic, to obtain from it so glorious a recompense ?

Poniatowsky possessed qualities more calculated to make him distinguished in private society than to render him worthy of a sceptre. Tall, well made, endowed with a figure at once commanding and replete with grace, he spoke and wrote the sever principal languages of Europe with considerable facility and elegance ; but he had a very superficial knowledge of affairs. His eloquence was vague, his presumption excited disgust. More feeble than gentle, more prodigal than generous, he could easily seduce women and dazzle an unthinking multitude, but not sway men of understanding. He was undoubtedly more fit to be governed, than himself to govern. However, supported by the credit and the arms of Russia, and having no one obstacle to apprehend on the part of other powers, his victory was not long doubtful. The self-love of Catharine was interested in this triumph. That Princess set so high a value on seeing the crown of the Sarmatians upon the brow of her ancient lover, that she wrote incessantly to the Count de Kayserling, her ambassador at Warsaw, to use his utmost influence in favour of Poniatowsky. One of her letters was intercepted, and contained these very words : " My dear Count, keep my candiditate in your mind. I write you this two hours after midnight : judge whether the subject be indifferent to me."

The Count de Kayserling took care not to disobey her. Neither he nor the Russian generals neglected any thing which could assure the choice which their sovereign desired. The diets were already convoked. That of Warsaw unanimously elected Poniatowsky : but whatever pains had been taken to dispose those of the provinces to act as favourably, his success was not the same. His rival candidates obtained more

suffrages than he did in some, and at least as many in others.

When the diet of convocation assembled, the Russian troops entered Warsaw, under pretence of maintaining order and liberty in that place.

The city was filled at the same time with a croud of foreigners, ready to rise up in a body on the first signal. The Count Branitzky, grand-general of the crown, and Prince Radziwill, took up arms to prevent the Russians from procuring suffrages by force: but what could they do in opposition to the foreign armies which domineered over the country, and in opposition to a part of their compatriots, disposed to unite themselves to those armies?

It is nevertheless difficult to form an idea of the tumult which commenced its reign in the diet of Warsaw. The Count Malakowsky, venerable from his great age and from his virtue, had been named mareschal of it. He attempted in vain to establish order, and to exclude all foreigners. He was answered with exclamations of fury, and the sabre was drawn. The eloquent Mokranowsky, nuncio of Cracow, ran the risk of perishing by the swords of the Russian officers who attempted to stab him from the upper galleries. He endeavoured at first to defend his life: but afterwards, returning his sabre into its sheath, and baring his breast, "If you must have a victim," said he to the Russians, "here am I.—But at least I shall die free as I have lived." Probably the barbarians would have had the audacity to murder him, but for Prince Adam Czartorynsky, who had the noble courage to throw himself before him, and to cover him with his body. Thus the first sittings of the diet were only productive of offensive language and turbulent quarrels.

Some one at Petersburg, who knew all the dissatisfaction which the election of Poniatowsky would give to the Poles, and who wished to diminish its importance in the eyes of Catharine, ventured to say to that

that Princess, that her *protégé* appeared so much the less worthy to ascend the throne of Poland, that his grandfather had been steward of a small estate belonging to the Princes Lubomirsky: "If he had been so himself," replied she peevishly, "I will have him a king, and he shall be."

In holding this language, Catharine was not apprehensive of deceiving herself. Independently of the troops which she already had in Poland, she ordered a corps of twelve thousand men to march into Lithuania, and her new reinforcements advanced towards Kioff. Her ambassador domineered at Warsaw, and her armies overawed the republic.

Several provinces then accused their nuncios of having acted contrary to their instructions, in yielding to the influence of the court of Petersburg. They did not restrict themselves to murmurs. They took up arms; they formed themselves into different confederacies. But these commotions produced no effect. The Russians threatened; and the malecontents were very soon reduced to silence.

At last arrived the day when the diet of election assembled, which was held, according to custom, in the plain of Wola, about three miles from Warsaw. That diet commenced with a solemn mass and a sermon. The Count de Kayserling, ambassador from Russia, found himself indisposed, and could not go to Wola, but transmitted to the diet a letter addressed to him from the Empress, recommending to them, in the most urgent manner, Count Poniatowsky.

During all this time Poniatowsky, accompanied by a great number of his friends, visited each nuncio in private, and endeavoured to gain him, by expressions of good will and flattering promises. The Partines being all assembled, and ranged in order round the Szopa, a large building open on all sides, which contained the senate and the equestrian order, the prime demanded of them aloud, and at three dif-

ferent times, "whom they wished to have for king?" all replied unanimously, "Count Poniatowsky." The next day he was proclaimed King of Poland, under the name of Stanislaus-Augustus.

The new monarch, on his return to Warsaw, traversed the streets of that capital, amidst the acclamations of all the people, and from that day took possession of the castle of the republic. Some of the nuncios had absented themselves from the diet; the greater part of the grandees were enraged at the nomination of Poniatowsky; but as soon as he was seated on the throne they almost all came to render him homage; and he commenced his reign with as much tranquillity as if his election had not been the work of violence.

Some time before this election Catharine had announced that she intended to approach the theatre of her successes, and to make an excursion through Livonia.

Some people thought she once more desired to see that lover to whom she gave a throne; others suspected that she was again pregnant, and that she was withdrawing from Peterburgh, only the better to conceal her lying-in from a crowd of courtiers whose vigilance laid her under restraint. We shall presently see that her journey had a totally different motive.

At the instant that Catharine was going to quit her capital, she received information that the guards were engaged in a fresh conspiracy. Several of them were arrested. But as it appeared that the discovery of a conspiracy always inspired new courage to form others, and as she did not wish to irritate the multitude by the spectacle of punishments, the trial of the conspirators was conducted in private, and they were barbarously allowed to perish with hunger in prison.

Of a truth, I should not permit myself to relate such horrible facts as these, if they had not been attested

tested to me in an authentic manner, and if the severity of history allowed me to pass them over in silence. And how could I then, without a crime, suffer, upon the faith of some flatterers, that posterity should boast of the clemency of a woman who commanded, or allowed to be committed, the most shocking atrocities?

The journey into Livonia had been suspended during some days. Before undertaking it, the Empress chose to visit Cronstadt; and thinking to give the foreign ministers a favourable idea of her marine, she invited them to follow her to this port. They did indeed follow her thither, but did not agree with her in the opinion which she herself had of her naval forces. They found there but a small number of vessels, which they judged but little calculated to go to sea; and the English ambassador, though he made it his study to flatter Catharine, could not conceal from her that her marine appeared to him as yet very little an object of dread. She has proved since that it might become so.

On her departure from Cronstadt, the Empress, having left the government of Petersburg to Count Panin, took the road to Livonia. Gregory Orloff accompanied her: however, she received at Riga the visit of Poniatowsky, who in reality disguised himself in such a manner as not to be recognized, that he might give no umbrage to the favourite, whose jealousy the Empress was still careful not to excite.

Nevertheless, if Catharine was cautious to conceal from Orloff her interview with Poniatowsky, she undoubtedly was not displeased that the public should suspect the existence of that interview. It was very necessary that she should have some pretext for her journey, and it was made use of no doubt in imputing to love what was due to policy only. But the eye of the observer was not long deceived; a horrible outrage disclosed her mysterious motive. Of what consequence indeed could it be for Catharine to have

a quarter of an hour's conversation with a lover who no longer occupied the first place in her heart? But how necessary did it appear to her to deliver herself at once from another object, whose name alone irritated the people against her, and made her the prey of continual terrors?

From the depths of his dungeon Ivan animated the hopes of those who detested the usurpation of Catharine. It was to restore the throne to that unfortunate young man that almost all the conspiracies were formed. It was for him that the scaffold was continually braved by persons who had never seen him, and of whose existence he was himself ignorant. Faithful to the system of calumny which had been so successful in the reign of Peter III. the court of Russia made use of it incessantly against Ivan. Sometimes it was said that he was silly, and stammered to such a degree as not to be able to utter a sentence; sometimes that he was a drunkard and a savage. It was even sometimes pretended that he had paroxysms of madness, and believed himself to be a prophet. But it is not to be doubted that these stories were the inventions of the blackest malignity, and afterwards innocently retailed by people who did not reflect what an interest was concerned in first raising them. Assuredly Ivan, to whom all sort of instruction was denied, and who lived continually in a dark dungeon, either alone or with Russian officers, the most barbarous of mankind, could not but be very limited in his attainments: but ignorance is still far short of imbecillity and madness. What evidently proves that Ivan was neither a fool nor a changeling, are the conversations which he had at the house of Peter Schouwaloff, and at that of the Chancellor Woronzoff, with the Empress Elizabeth. Not only the graces of his figure and the accents of his voice, but the touching complaints which he uttered, melted all those who were present, and the Empress could not help shedding abundance of tears. If this young Prince

Prince had committed any act of lunacy, would not care have been taken to proclaim it? We find afterwards a new proof of his good sense and of his sensibility in the discourse which he held with Peter III. when he saw him for the first time at Schlussemburgh. The Baron de Korff and Leon Narischkin have transmitted it to different persons, and I have related it at the commencement of this work. Peter III. conversed with him several times afterwards, and persisted in the intention of declaring him his heir. Besides, we have good reason to think that Wolkoff, Goudowitz, and his other confidants, would have made him change his resolution, had it been their opinion that Ivan was altogether unworthy of the throne. But, to conclude: whatever was the character of this Prince, all that any one ventured to undertake in his favour, did not render him the less an object of dread to Catharine, and she sought for a method of ridding herself of a rival so dangerous, without appearing to have contributed to his destruction.

Chance, or rather the vigilance of the emissaries of the Empress, very soon furnished her with a proper instrument for the accomplishment of her designs. The regiment of Smolensko was in garrison in the city of Schlussemburgh, and a company of a hundred men guarded the fortress in which Prince Ivan was confined. There was in this regiment an officer named Wafili Mirowitsch, whose grandfather followed the party of the kofac Mazeppa, when he took up arms in favour of Charles XII. against Peter I. The estates of the family of Mirowitsch had been confiscated. This young man, who was ambitious, claimed them again with warmth, and it was this which brought him into acquaintance with the agents of the court. His estates were not restored, but he was flattered with the hope of a considerable fortune, if he would lend his assistance toward establishing the tranquillity of the empire. What will not ambition effect in a mind replete with audacity and credulity?

Miro-

Mirowitsch promised every thing that was required. It is said that upon this the barbarous plan was communicated to him, which he executed shortly after but too faithfully.

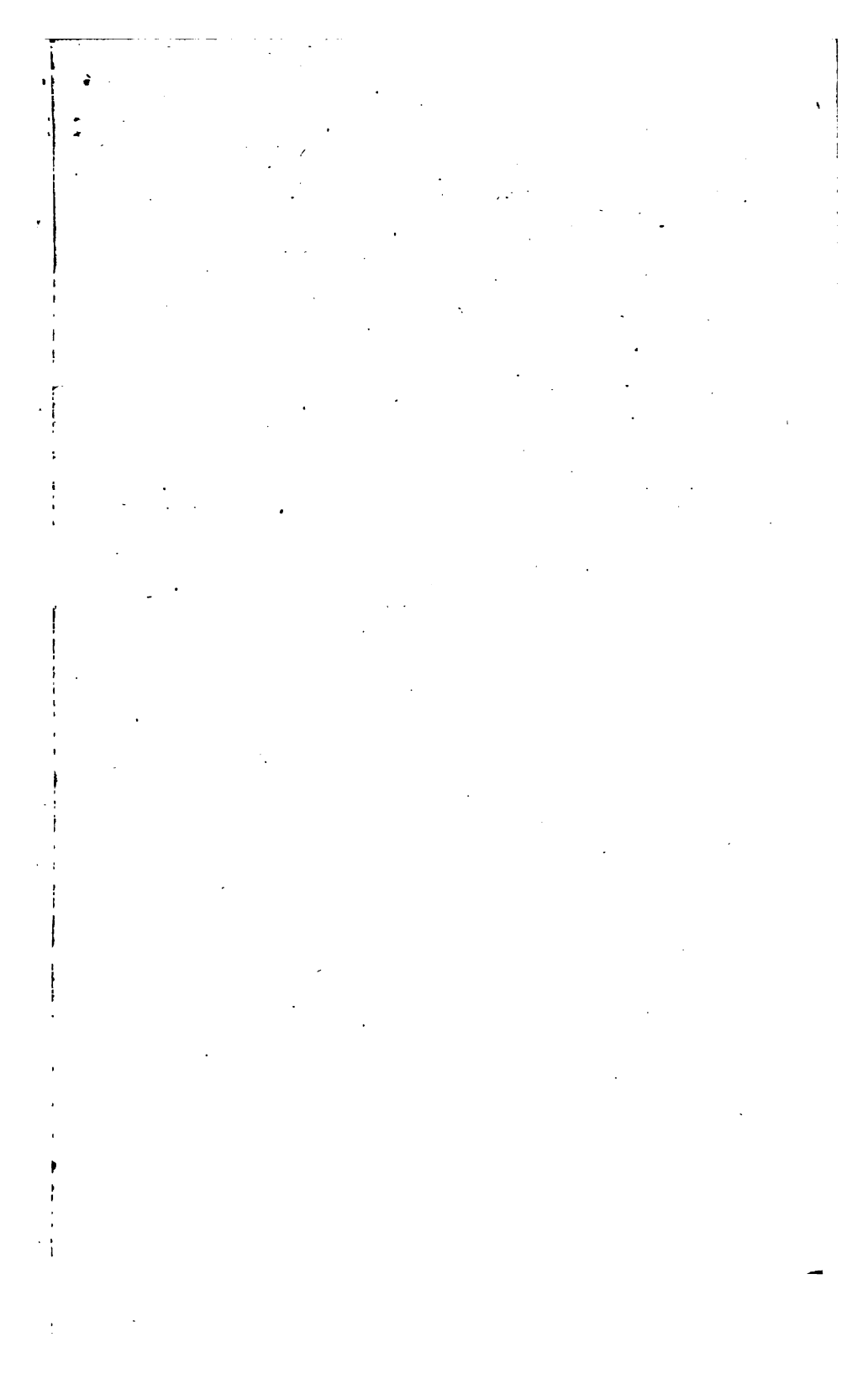
(At the same time Captain Oulousieff and Lieutenant Tschekin were commanded to sleep in the chamber of Prince Ivan, and an order was transmitted to them, signed by the Empress, whereby they were enjoined to kill this unfortunate Prince, if the least attempt was made for his deliverance. Some time afterward Catharine departed for Livonia.

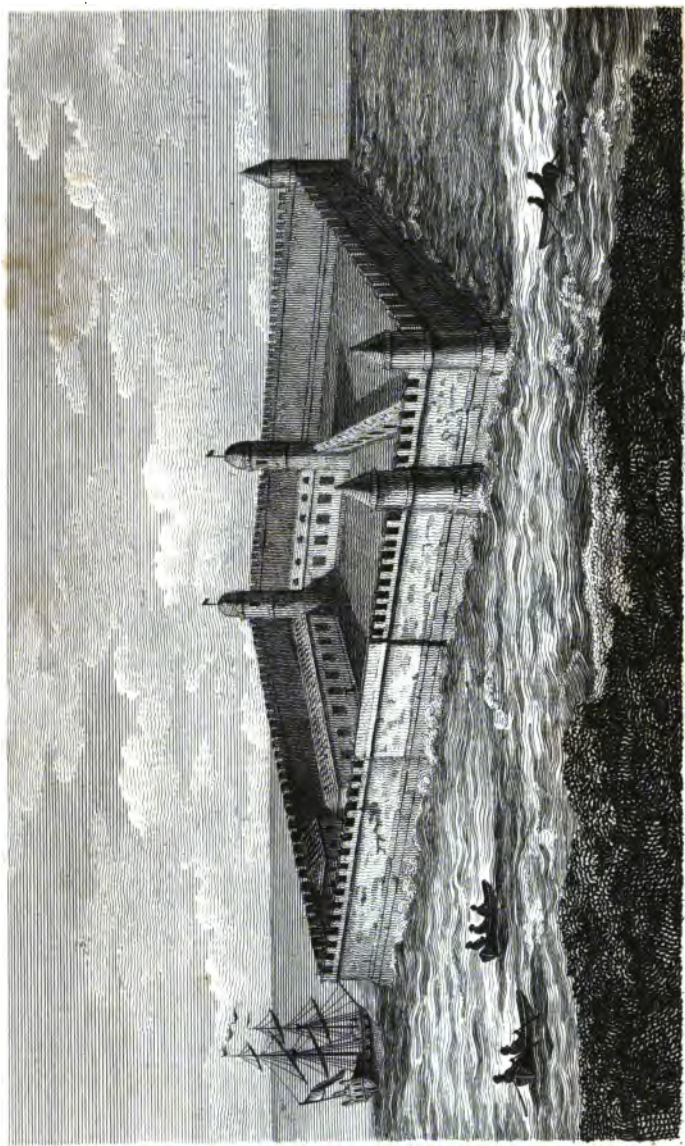
Eight soldiers usually guarded the gallery which conducted to the chamber of Ivan, and all the passages which surrounded it. The others remained in the guard-house at the gate of the fortress, where they were stationed on duty at different places. The detachment had for their commandant an officer who was himself obliged to obey the governor.

It is pretended that, some time before the execution of his project, Mirowitsch had disclosed it to a lieutenant of the regiment of Weliki Louki, named Apollo Ouschakoff, and that Ouschakoff had taken an oath at the foot of the altar to assist him in his undertaking. But, as this last drowned himself before the attempt of Mirowitsch, it is impossible to know if this agreement had actually taken place between them.

What is more certain, he conversed vaguely respecting the conspiracy with one of the valets of the court, and that he afterwards spoke to Semen Tschewarideff, lieutenant of the corps of artillery, of the advantage which might be derived from rescuing Ivan, and delivering him up to the regiments of guards. Believing that it was of importance for him to give himself the air of being a conspirator without having accomplices, he did not however say to Tschewarideff any thing positive either as to the time or the manner of executing his project.

He had already performed his week of service in
the





Fortings of Schlußseltbourg

I. The Chamber where Suvar was garrisoned.

Published March 18th 1800 by J. Schödel's Press.

the fortress, without having ventured to attempt any thing. But soon ashamed of his own weakness, or stimulated by those who secretly urged him on, he requested permission to remain on guard a week longer. Consent was given without hesitation.

After having taken into his confidence a man named Jacob Piskoff, he attempted, towards ten at night, to gain three corporals and two soldiers, who at first made some difficulties, but who presently, seduced by the allurements of rewards, promised to execute his commands. However, whether from apprehension or from precaution, they resolved unanimously to wait till it grew later. Between one and two in the morning they again assembled. Mirowitsch and the corporals ordered fifty soldiers, who were upon guard, to arms, and marched towards the prison of Ivan. They met on the road Berednikoff, governor of the fortress. It was believed that he had been long in bed; but being without doubt forewarned of the design of Mirowitsch, he came to oppose it. Berednikoff ordered Mirowitsch to declare why he had commanded the soldiers to take arms, and to what place he purposed going. Mirowitsch, without answering, struck him slightly with the end of his musket, and delivering him into the hands of some of the soldiers; all which Berednikoff suffered very patiently, he continued his march. Arrived at the door of the gallery in which was the chamber of Ivan, the sentinels endeavoured to oppose his passage. He immediately commanded his men to fire upon them, which was put in execution. The sentinels fired in their turn, but there was no wound given on either side.

The soldiers of Mirowitsch, surprised at the resistance which they met with, wished to retire. Their chief retained them: but they insisted he should shew them the order which he said he had received from Petersburg. He immediately draws from his pocket and reads a forged decree of the senate, recalling

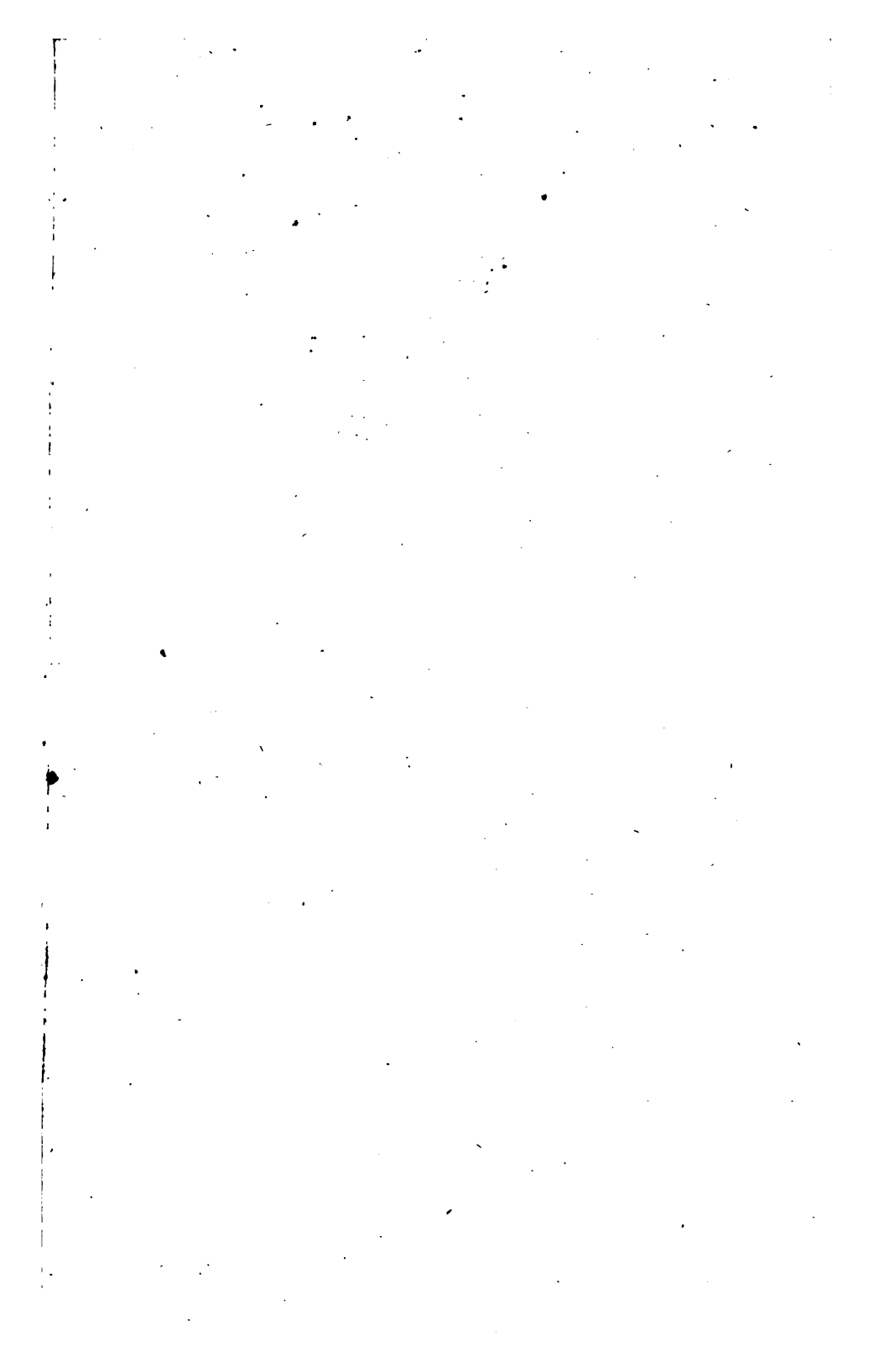
calling Prince Ivan to the throne, and excluding Catharine, because she had gone into Livonia to espouse Count Poniatowsky. The soldiery, ignorant and credulous, puts faith in this decree, and prepares anew to yield obedience. Upon this a piece of cannon is brought to Mirowitsch, who himself points it against the door of the gallery. At this sight the door was opened, and he entered without obstacle, followed by all his train.

The officers Oulousieff and Tschekin, appointed to guard this Prince, had shut themselves up in his chamber, and had called to the sentinels to fire. But when they heard Mirowitsch give orders to break open the door, and judged that there were no means of making resistance to the assailants, they fell, sword in hand, upon the wretched victim who was going to be carried off from them.)

At the noise of the musketry Ivan awoke, and, hearing the cries and the menaces of his guards, conjured them to spare his miserable life. When he perceived that these barbarians paid no attention to his supplications he found strength in despair, and although naked, defended himself for a considerable time. With his right hand pierced through and his body covered with wounds, he seized the sword of one of those monsters and broke it; but whilst he was struggling to wrest the broken piece from him, the other stabbed him behind and threw him down. Upon this the one whose sword had been broken completely deprived him of life with the strokes of a bayonet.

They then opened the doors, and shewed at the same time to Mirowitsch the bleeding body of the Prince, and the order by which Catharine authorised them to put him to death if any one dared to attempt to carry him off.

Mirowitsch at first retreated a few paces. Afterwards he threw himself on the body of the Prince, crying, "I have missed my aim; I have then no-
" thing





IVAN VI

*Born 24 August 1740;
became Emperor 28 October, the same year; was dethroned in
December 1741, and assassinated in Prison in July 1764.*

Published Feb.^r. 1800, by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

"thing for it but to die." Soon after he arose. Far from endeavouring to escape that chastisement which he could not but foresee, or avenging himself on the two assassins by massacring them, he returned towards the spot where he had left the governor in the hands of his soldiers, and said to him coldly, on returning him his sword, "At present I am your prisoner."

The next day the corpse of the unfortunate Ivan was exposed before the church of Schlusſelburgh, clothed in the habit of a sailor. An immense croud hastened thither, and it is impossible to describe the grief and indignation which were excited by the sight of this unhappy young man, who, after having been cruelly precipitated from the throne whilst he was yet in his cradle, passed his days in a frightful dungeon, where he had been pitilessly massacred by villains. Ivan was six feet high, had a fair and beautiful head of hair, a red beard, regular features, and a skin of an extreme whiteness; besides his beauty, his youth impressed still more deeply his unfortunate destiny, and the cruelty of his executioners. His body was wrapped in a sheep's skin, put in a coffin, and interred without ceremony.

The croud and the murmurs augmented to such a degree, that a riot was apprehended. Some fears were also, without doubt, entertained for his two assassins, Oulousieff and Tschekin, who, as soon as they had committed the crime, found a vessel in complete readiness to transport them into Denmark, where the minister of Russia received them with cordiality.

The Governor of Schlusſelburgh, transmitted to Count Panin a minute relation of the outrage of Mirowitch, and of the tragical death of Ivan. He likewise sent to him a manifesto, which was found in the pocket of Mirowitch, and which he had, it was said, drawn up some time before in conjunction with Lieutenant Ouschakoff. This manifesto, which contained

tained many reproaches and imprecations against Catharine, and represented Ivan as the only legitimate Emperor, was to have been, he added, published the moment that the Prince was set at liberty, and made his entrance into Peterburgh. Panin immediately dispatched a courier to the Empress, to give her an account of all these particulars.

That Princess was then at Riga, in a state of impatience, which, notwithstanding her profound dissimulation, she could not entirely conceal. She reckoned the days which had elapsed since the epocha that Mirowitsch had been of the guard, and uneasy at a delay, of which she could not divine the cause, she rose frequently in the night, and demanded if no courier had arrived. At last, at the end of three days of uncertainty, the dispatches of Panin restored her to tranquillity.

However, the fatal event which had just polluted Schlüsselburgh with blood, augmented to a great degree the hatred which was borne towards Catharine. The most trivial circumstances of the outrage of Mirowitsch were carefully treasured up. They were examined with deliberation, and every one was persuaded that, before her departure for Livonia, the Empress had formed this horrible plot. She soon returned to Peterburgh. On her entrance, she was surrounded by an immense croud, who sought to discover in her countenance what was passing in her heart; but, always mistress of herself, that Princess did not appear to undergo any remorse. Her gait was as steady, her forehead as calm, as if she had never committed an action for which she could reproach herself.

Lieutenant-General Weymar had been already commanded to repair to Schlüsselburgh. When he had privately examined Mirowitsch and his accomplices, they were conveyed to Peterburgh, where their cause was tried before a commission, composed of five prelates, an equal number of senators, and several

several general officers. Mirowitsch appeared before his judges with all that tranquillity which a culprit could assume from the certainty of being secretly approved of, and of escaping punishment. He replied with a frivolous, and frequently an insolent air, to the interrogatories which were put to him. It is true, that the judges themselves thought it a matter of very little consequence, and seemed to dread penetrating too deeply into this execrable mystery. One alone had the equity to exclaim against a form of process so uncommon. But his indiscreet zeal was censured, and it was recommended to him to keep silence, if he did not wish to lose his employment, and to behold himself degraded from his high situation. At last, at the end of some days, Mirowitsch was condemned to be beheaded, not as being guilty of high-treason, but merely as a disturber of the public tranquillity. This sentence gave him no emotion; he marched to the scaffold like a man who apprehends nothing, and who believes himself certain of obtaining his pardon, as he had, it was said, received the promise of it. If he did in reality reckon upon this, he found himself cruelly deceived. The moment of his execution was hastened, and the miserable wretch was at the same time the instrument and the victim of a barbarous policy. The Russians were for a long time astonished that the Empress allowed him to suffer death. But how could she have permitted him to escape punishment, without bringing upon herself the open accusation of having tempted him to commit this outrage? And if, as every thing appeared to evince, she really had a part in it, could it be believed that she durst hesitate to deliver herself from a witness who must have exposed her to continual disquietude?

The imprudent Mirowitsch was the only one condemned to death. The soldiers whom he had persuaded to join him in order to deliver Prince Ivan, underwent other punishments more or less severe.

Pilkoff,

Piskoff, who was regarded as the most culpable, was condemned to run the gauntlet twelve times through a line of a thousand soldiers. The three corporals and the two privates, seduced after Piskoff, ran the gauntlet ten times, afterwards they were rivetted to a chain and employed in the public works. The other soldiers who had obeyed Mirowitsch also ran the gauntlet, and, after having been incorporated in other regiments, were sent to foreign garrisons. Tschewarideff was degraded from his rank of officer, for having listened, without revealing them, to the vague relations of Mirowitsch. On this occasion fifty-eight persons were punished. There was no apprehension of displaying a great appearance of severity towards them, that there might be the less room to presume who were the real instigators of their crimes.

Nevertheless, whatever precaution might be taken in order to remove suspicion, the people persisted in imputing to Catharine all the odium of a plot so hellish. They accused her of perfidy and cruelty; they regarded her as one of the vilest women who had ever usurped the throne; they detested her power, but they cringed at her feet.

The death of Prince Ivan gave reason to imagine, that this would not be the last outrage which Catharine might be bold enough to commit. It was apprehended that the sacrifice of her son would very shortly put the finishing stroke to her crimes. Prudence was not as yet among the number of the virtues of this Prince. Lively, impetuous, having a dislike to Count Panin his governor, and perceiving absurdities in him, he frequently permitted expressions to escape which might have become fatal to him. We are assured that he sometimes enquired why his father had been put to death, and why his mother had taken possession of a throne of which he was the heir? These questions could not possibly fail of reaching the ears of Catharine. They were repeated in Petersburg, and all who heard them shud-
dered

dered at the artless frankness which had dictated them.

Notwithstanding, however Catharine ought to have been affected with the discourse of her son, she feigned ignorance of it, and attributed the blame of it less to this young Prince than to some enemies of her repose. She did not doubt that age and experience would render him more discreet. The unwearied patience and the profound respect of Paul Petrowitz have since given sufficient proof that she did not deceive herself.

BOOK VI.

Misunderstanding between Gregory Orloff and Panin.—Wissotzky becomes a Lover of the Empress—Dismission of the Chancellor Woronzoff.—The Duke de Choiseul incites the Turks to take up Arms against Russia—Adventure of Lord Macartney—Tournaments—Convocation of the Deputies of the People—Inoculation of the Grand-Duke—Prince Henry of Prussia at Petersburg—A Russian Squadron in the Archipelago—Princess Tarrakanoff.

A. D. **W**HILE Catharine was imposing laws on 1765. Poland, feeding Austria with hopes, making her peace with Prussia, and treating with England, she kept on fair terms with all the other courts of Europe, and exerted herself with good effect to be speedily in a condition to make herself feared by them. She strained every nerve to re-animate the commerce of her states, to increase her marine, and, above all, to soften the manners of a people still more than half barbarian. But, indifferently seconded by the grandees of the empire, and even by those who were about her person, her institutions at first

made but a very tardy progress. The spirit of division still prevailed in Petersburg. The attempts which she was under the necessity of either checking or punishing, compelled Catharine to place constant reliance on the conspirators to whom she owed her elevation to the throne, and the favours which she was obliged incessantly to bestow on those greedy and insolent pretenders, only served to excite discontent and hatred. New conspiracies were every day formed, and every day her good fortune, or rather her address, extricated her from the danger. The punishments inflicted were secret and terrible. The authors of one plot had it rarely in their power to engage in a second.

What afflicted the Empress most was the misunderstanding which had arisen between her favourite and her prime minister, because the devotedness and intrepidity of the one, were no less useful to her than the name and ability of the other. Panin had, undoubtedly, very great faults, but he was the only person who really possessed talents for business. His coldness of imagination, his gloominess, his pride, his self-conceit, and especially his indolence, were highly displeasing to Catharine; but she did justice to his capacity, and continued to put confidence in him. Besides, when he had given that Princess cause of dissatisfaction, he had the art of bringing her round again.

Orloff's credit was founded on claims of a nature more tender; but he employed it with little discretion, and incessantly shook it to the foundation. A lover-satiated with his good fortune, the assiduity which Catharine exacted appeared to him a constraint on his liberty. He would go a-bear-hunting for weeks together, and dared to indulge himself, on these occasions, in infidelities which he was not sufficiently careful to conceal from his mistress, and the example of which she was naturally disposed to follow. Panin, who observed this conduct, imagined he could avail

avail himself of it to ruin the arrogant favourite. He perceived that the Empress frequently cast a look of complacency on a young officer named Wissotzky. Henceforward he employed all his skill to strengthen this attachment. Wissotzky was soon made happy; and, directed by the crafty minister, inspired the Empress with a passion sufficiently violent to create a belief that Orloff would be made a sacrifice. But this gentleman, who did not chuse to surrender his rights, shewed himself by turns jealous and tender, dangerous and necessary. He resumed his ascendant over the heart of Catharine, and the new lover was dismissed with a splendid recompense, and an employment which fixed him in a distant province.

Though Panin enjoyed very high credit, much consideration, the advantages resulting from his place of governor to the Grand-duke, and the title of prime minister, the return of the chancellor Woronzoff, whose functions he had executed during his absence, occasioned him much uneasiness. Eager to preserve all his authority, and the lustre of a representation which was of inestimable value in his apprehension, he debased himself so far as to flatter the favourite whom he had endeavoured to supplant. It was a matter of no great difficulty to blind Orloff. Calling constantly to recollection, with bitter resentment, the measures taken by the chancellor to obstruct his elevation to the throne, he made it a point with the Empress to keep him at a distance from business, and became the advocate of an enemy less courageous, but more artful. Catharine gave the Chancellor an extremely cold reception. Instead of replacing him in the exercise of his ministerial functions, as she had given him reason to hope at his departure, she caused it to be insinuated to him, that he would do well to resign a situation which he could no longer fill to the satisfaction of his sovereign. The Chancellor hesitated long: but at length the counsels of his friends turned the scale. He appeared

voluntarily to give in a forced resignation. A regret was on this expressed, not more sincere than his wish for retirement; and in order to demonstrate to him the secret joy which his compliance inspired, they granted him a gratification of 50,000 roubles, and an annual pension of 7000.

Among the means without number, which Catharine employed to detect the authors of the cabals which continually disturbed her repose, she neglected not the interception of the correspondence of foreign ministers. That of the French envoy was sold to her. She even contrived to procure a double of his cipher; and thought she found in his letters, if not an adherence to the practices of conspiracy, at least the knowledge of all, even the most mysterious, transactions of her court. Her pride fired into indignation at it; her hatred to the court of Versailles increased; and the cold reception given to the minister from that court, laid him under the necessity of withdrawing.

Louis XV. on this sent to Petersburg the Marquis de Beauffet, a man vain, and of slender capacity, to whom the ministers of Catharine preferred many complaints of the *chargé d'affaires* who preceded him. As Beauffet was ignorant of the real cause of their complaints, he paid little attention to them, and employed no precaution to prevent the repetition of them against himself. Nay, he imagined they were to be ascribed merely to the blind jealousy with which the glory of the French nation inspired the Empress; whereas that ambitious woman was endeavouring, on the contrary, to captivate the esteem and attract to herself the applause of that nation. There was no end to her cajoling of Voltaire and d'Alembert. She made an offer to the last-named gentleman, of the place of governor to the Grand-duke, with a pension of 24,000 roubles, and every accommodation for completing the Encyclopedia at Peterburgh, advantages which the philosopher had the good sense to reject.

reject. Being informed that Diderot was in narrow circumstances, and wished to dispose of his library in order to portion off his only daughter, she purchased that library, let it remain in his possession, and gave him a salary as librarian. She had sent, some time before, to the celebrated surgeon, Morand, a collection of gold and silver medals struck in Russia, as an expression of her satisfaction for the anatomical preparations, and the surgical instruments which he had procured her. Almost all the literati and the most distinguished artists of Paris, received some proofs of her munificence; and admiring her bounty, and ignorant of, or forgetting, her crimes, set Fame's hundred tongues a-lying in her praise.

At the same time, the secret object which that Princess had proposed to herself, in putting the crown on Poniatowiky's head, began to appear. Believing herself secure of the submissiveness of that monarch, she threw off all constraint, and openly avowed designs which policy itself had made it criminal in the Poles to impute to her. Her pretensions were undoubtedly extravagant; but as she was determined that they should not be inefficient, she declared them only by marching troops to be in readiness to make them good, and made every proposal with an air of authority. After having traced on the chart, the lines of demarcation, conformably to which Russia appropriated to herself a great part of the territory of Poland, Catharine insisted that the validity of those lines should be admitted, and that the limits of the two states should be settled accordingly. She farther insisted, that the king and republic should contract with her a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, and that they should grant the dissidents the free enjoyment of all the rights of the catholics, even that of admission into the senate. This last demand, the only one which had justice on its side, roused the indignation of a bigotted and despotic nobility. Loud murmurs were heard on all sides: and, *to arms, was*

the general cry. Whether he was really ashamed of the sacrifices prescribed to his gratitude, or rather, whether he was afraid of incurring the resentment of the whole nation, the king himself declared he could not consent to those sacrifices. But, in order the better to form a judgment of the pretexts under which Catharine disguised her ambition, it is necessary to have a clear view of what the Polish dissidents were.

It was during the reign of Sigismund I. (A. D. 1540,) that protestantism began to spread over Poland. The partisans of that sect soon became so numerous that, under the reign of Sigismund Augustus, they obtained, as well as the Greeks and Arians, the perfect freedom of their worship, the right of voting in the diets, and the enjoyment of the same privileges with the catholics. No one at that time appeared to take offence at this act of justice; on the contrary, it was a ground of satisfaction, that difference in religion produced none in civil and political rights. As a term of distinction among themselves, the adherents to the different modes of religious worship assumed the name of *Dissidents*: but that appellation, which has since become an object of proscription, then implied nothing reproachful; and the successors of Sigismund Augustus, in swearing to observe the *pacta conventa*, likewise swore to maintain peace among the dissidents. When Henry de Valois was elected King of Poland, he wanted to evade taking an oath which encroached on his intolerant superstition: but to no purpose. He was under the necessity of renouncing the crown, or of swearing to protect the dissidents; he swallowed the oath.

The catholics having afterwards acquired more power, abandoned themselves to that head-strong zeal, which leads them always to believe that their own religion is the only one good for any thing; and permits them not to tolerate any other. They began
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by persecuting the Arians, whose opinions had already made considerable progress; they possessed sufficient influence to strip them of all their rights, and even to procure their banishment from Poland. The Greek Christians and the Protestants, who had assisted in persecuting the Arians, soon suffered for their imprudence. The catholics attacked them in their turn, and succeeded in effecting their total exclusion from the diets.

The humiliation of being deprived of the right of suffrage, converted many Polanders to catholicism. But, if the number of the dissidents diminished, those who adhered to their principles only became more firmly attached to their party. They called aloud for the re-establishment of the treaty of Oliva, concluded in 1660, which secured their privileges, and had been guaranteed by so many potentates. The catholics, who exercised sole dominion in the diets, and consequently had the power of indulging, without control, their intolerant spirit, framed a decree which fixed the guilt of high-treason on such of the dissidents as should appeal to foreign powers, to obtain the execution of the treaty infringed, and the re-establishment of laws despotically abrogated. This decree completed the revolt of the dissidents. Russia observed their indignation, and secretly blew it into a flame. The Greek dissidents then made their appeal to the court of Petersburg. The protestants implored the interposition of those of London and Berlin. These courts promised their support, and this was the most specious pretext for the armaments of Russia.

A. D. 1766. When the diet of 1766 assembled, the ministers of the courts who had become guarantees, presented memorials to it, in favour of the dissidents, which excited violent murmurings. The haughty and fanatical Bishop of Cracow, Soltky, maintained that the dissidents had no title to reclaim abolished rights, and that they violated the constitution

tion of the republic in recurring to the intervention of foreign powers. Not satisfied with insisting on the execution of iniquitous laws enacted against the dissidents, he proposed new disqualifications still more severe. His sentiments were adopted by the great majority of a nobility who blindly confounded religious prejudices with political rights; and the opposition of some men more illuminated, or more equitable, occasioned warm debates. Disorder was carried to its height. The King endeavoured to interpose a sentiment of moderation; he immediately incurred the reproach of favouring the enemies of the state. He thought it his duty to retire. There were many other sittings no less scandalous than the first; and the tremendous laws, proposed against the dissidents, were imprudently confirmed. The Russian troops on this advanced up to the gates of Warsaw. Terror then obliged the diet to open their eyes. They flattered themselves the Empress would be satisfied by their granting the dissidents more liberty in the exercise of their religion. But this palliative by no means came up to Catharine's views. The dissidents, who demanded a complete equality of rights, formed various confederations, which were presently joined by many catholics, whom the Russians had gained over.

Catharine wished to disunite Poland, in order, afterward, to conquer it the more easily. Her precautions were taken with so much sagacity, that the King of Prussia, no less ambitious than herself, exerted all his influence to promote her designs; and the cabinets of London, Stockholm, and Berlin, who imagined they were interposing merely in favour of religion, openly applauded a system of rapacity.

A. D. 1767. New grievances farther increased the dissensions of Poland. The catholic nobility, under the denomination of malecontents, formed, in all the provinces, associations which united into one general confederation, whereof Prince Charles Radziwil was appointed

appointed marshal. This Prince had been one of the most violent opponents of Poniatowsky's election. He affected to despise still more than he hated him. When he saw him abandoned by the Russians, he united his confederation to that of the dissidents, and assembled their leading men in his palace at Warsaw, under the very eye of the monarch:

In this extremity Stanislaus-Augustus, who perceived the necessity of recurring to his dependence on Russia, summoned a diet extraordinary. But that diet was far from adopting his views. Notwithstanding the presence of the Russian army, and the haughty demeanor of Prince Nicolas Repnin, who then ruled in Warsaw much more than the King himself, the Bishop of Cracow and his adherents, always impetuous, always fanatical, indulged themselves in a strain of invective against the dissidents, which regard to their personal safety, if not to decency and good sense, ought to have restrained. It was not long before this temerity met its punishment. That very evening, while the Bishop was at table in the house of Count Miniszcek, the Russian colonel, Igœlstrom, with a detachment of soldiers at his back, arrived, and, in name of the Empress, carried off the prelate, no one daring to make the slightest resistance. The Bishop of Kiœwie, the Count de Rzvousky, starost of Dolina, his eldest son, and several other noblemen, were likewise separately put under arrest.

The day after this outrage was committed Prince Repnin addressed a note to the confederates, in which he pretended that he was under the necessity of violating Polish liberty, purely for the benefit of Poland. The members of the diet applied to the King to demand the liberation of the prisoners. The king accordingly preferred an immediate request to Prince Repnin that he would enlarge them; but it was haughtily refused, and they were conveyed into the heart of Russia, from whence they did not return till after an exile of six years.

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The diet, meanwhile, no longer deliberated but with fear and trembling, and, after a few useless sittings, appointed a committee to regulate the rights of the dissidents, in concert with the ministers of the protecting courts. They came to receive the orders of Prince Repnin, at whose house assembled the plenipotentiaries from Great Britain, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark; and when the committee had received those orders they reported them to the diet, who had become too wise to offer a word of contradiction. The dissidents obtained, then, every thing that the Russian ambassador was pleased to demand in their behalf. The ancient laws of which they claimed the restoration were put in force, and some others, still more favourable to them, were framed. But this was undoubtedly no more than justice, against which nothing can be alleged except the mode of administering it. The political rights of the dissidents were sacred. They had been arbitrarily abolished; it was fit therefore they should be re-established. What alone must be matter of affliction to the real friend of the liberties of Poland, was a multitude of regulations introduced by Catharine, for the express purpose of prolonging the disorder and anarchy of that wretched country, and of leaving it for ever defenceless against the usurpations she was projecting.

A servile submission had promptly succeeded in Warsaw to the eccentricities of a lofty independence. But this forced state could not be of long duration. Murmuring was upon the lips, and vengeance lay brooding at the bottom of the heart. As soon as the diet separated, the catholic nobles spoke aloud their complaints on occasion of the laws promulgated in favour of the dissidents, and they entered into new confederations for the defence of the Roman-catholic religion. The confederates had standards on which were painted the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus; they wore, like the croisaders of the fifteenth century, crosses embroidered on their coats; and, what is still
more

more unaccountable, they put themselves under the protection of the Turks, and the votaries of Mahomet prepared to fight in support of a cause which wanted to pass for that of Christ.

Stanislaus-Augustus being able neither to acquire the confidence of his own subjects nor to recover the friendship of Russia, was blamed by all parties, and lived in his capital rather as a prisoner than as a king. Catharine would perhaps have easily forgiven him a few moments of apparent defection, but the ascendant of Orloff forbade. Prince Repnin governed despotically in Warsaw, and, to flatter the favourite of his sovereign, omitted no opportunity of humbling a feeble and helpless king. We shall produce a single fact, to prove in what consideration his Polish Majesty was held by the Russian ambassador. One evening that the King went to the theatre, the ambassador did not appear at the usual hour. It being latish, the curtain rose and the piece commenced. They had got into the second act when Repnin entered. Nettled that they had not waited for him, he ordered the performance to be interrupted, and the players to begin again.

The conduct of the court of Russia at the same time filled Europe with astonishment. It was hardly conceivable that Catharine should have, of a sudden, become the enemy of a king whom she herself had raised to the throne. But what was to be expected from the faint recollection of an extinguished love on the heart of a Princess whose object it was, in forging fetters for Poland, to domineer over all the potentates of the north, and to render herself formidable to those of the south? She was sure that the King of Prussia wished for nothing better than to share with her the provinces of Poland. She gave what laws she pleased to Sweden and Denmark, managing the one by intrigue, the other by the hope held out of the accession of Holstein to that power. She flattered

tered England with a treaty of alliance and commerce. Every thing seemed to concur in promoting her ambitious views.

The Duke de Choiseul, who, under the appearance of levity concealed a profound genius, and to whom nothing perhaps was wanting to constitute a great minister but more steadiness in prosecuting his designs, and greater frugality in managing the treasures of France, was the first who discovered the secret views of Catharine. He clearly perceived, that the accumulation of power at which she aimed must necessarily diminish the consideration and the influence of the court of Versailles. He resolved to attack the evil in its principle; and, to render abortive the projects of Catharine, exhaust her resources, and perhaps tumble her from her throne, he undertook to embroil her in war with the Ottoman empire.

This minister accordingly addressed himself to the Count de Vergennes, ambassador from France at Constantinople, and having unfolded the grounds of his apprehensions, exhorted him to second his project. The Duke de Choiseul was well acquainted with the feeble and declining state of the Ottoman empire, and with the vices of a government which was the sole cause of that feebleness: but he believed it still in a condition to employ Russia for a considerable time; and, be the issue of the war what it might, he wished it to be undertaken.

Vergennes supported the designs of his court with equal address and zeal. A long residence in Turkey had given him a thorough knowledge of the leading members of the divan, and of the means of influencing them. These means he employed. He represented to the Ottoman ministry how unjust and dangerous it was that Russia should dare to violate the rights of the Polish nation, and invade their territories. He made them sensible that the demarcation of limits insisted on by the court of Petersburg would

would have fatal consequences to the security of their possessions on the Black Sea, and pressed them to resist that demarcation.

The Porte, whose protection the confederated Poles had already implored, at first listened to the counsels of Vergennes with deference. A memorial was addressed to the King of Poland, demanding a suspension of the regulations respecting the limits, till the necessary explanations were given to secure the Porte against the danger with which the cession of the Polonese territory threatened the Ottoman empire. But Stanislaus-Augustus, who was under incessant terror of giving offence to Catharine, and who desired, at whatever price, to regain her friendship, replied to the Grand-signor, that there was no intention to alter the limits between Russia and Poland; and this assurance for some time lulled the divan into its usual apathy.

The court of Peterburgh on this concluded a treaty of commerce and alliance with that of London, a treaty which extended the privileges of British subjects, diminished the duties on importation of their commodities, and conferred on them other great advantages. Her natural predilection in favour of England, as well as a wish to make sure of additional aid in the war which she was meditating against the Turks, determined Catharine to ally herself to the court of London.

Nevertheless, at the very moment when Catharine was displaying the greatest partiality to the British nation, she treated very unceremoniously the Lord Macartney, ambassador from England. The better to conciliate the good will of the Empress, Lord Macartney carried on a commerce of gallantry with one of the maids of honour of that Princess. Their intrigue was for a considerable time conducted with secrecy; but the lady became pregnant; and this adventure being too notorious to admit of the Empress's pretending ignorance of it, she assumed the character

character of extreme severity, dismissed the offender from her service, and for some time forbid the ambassador to appear at court. This rigour in Catharine presented undoubtedly a striking contrast with the liberties in which she indulged herself. She must have been strangely under the power of self-deceit, if she believed it possible thereby to throw a veil over her own conduct: but it is certain that she sometimes affected, in the eyes of those who knew her best, as much hypocrisy in morals, as in religion. Two ladies of her court, one of them her ancient confidant, being at a masked ball, were talking, rather too loud about one of their lovers: Catharine came up, and, in a tone of severity, commanded them to leave the ball-room, since they did not understand better to respect the laws of decency.

The haughtiness in which Catharine sometimes arrayed herself could neither gain her the friendship of her court, nor contribute toward the restoration of the tranquillity of the empire. The Princess d'Aschkoff had been for the second time exiled to Moscow. That young woman, whose greatest pleasure seemed to consist in braving danger, avenged herself of the ingratitude she had experienced, by disclosing the crimes of the conspiracy in which she had acted a principal part, and by inflaming the hatred which the Empress excited. Without either esteeming or pitying the Princess d'Aschkoff, many persons adopted her resentments; and the fire of sedition, dexterously blown up by her, made a daily and rapid progress.

Informed of the murmurings at Moscow, Catharine affected to despise them, and resolved to suppress them by her presence. But as the severity of winter hardly permitted her to undertake a long journey, she endeavoured, in the mean time, to divert the attention of the malecontents by a report of the pleasures enjoyed at her court. Petersburg exhibited two or three tournaments, in which the Russian courtiers, in the dress and armour of ancient knight-

knighthood, displayed more magnificence than gallantry, and more force than skill, by cutting off the heads of a few mannikins which represented the moors, and by piercing with their lances tigers and wild-boars of pasteboard. These expensive and futile exhibitions met with unmixed disapprobation. Nothing however was neglected that could contribute to their splendor or interest. An amphitheatre was erected at the extremity of the circus destined for the exercises of the knights, and two superb apartments were reared, the one for the Empress, the other for the Grand-duke. In the centre of the circus was a throne, on which the judge of the field was seated, with forty officers in his train, four heralds-at-arms, and two trumpets; and on the four sides of the grand area were placed other trumpets, tymbals, and various sorts of instruments, the military music of which enlivened the jousting matches. The ladies of the court engaged as well as the knights. They were divided into four troops, each of which represented a different nation. There were Slavonians, Indians, Romans and Turks, all magnificently dressed, and covered with pearls and precious stones. At the head of the two last troops marched Gregory Orloff and his brother Alexis.

The celebrated Marechal Munich was appointed first judge of the field, and before the distribution of the prizes he pronounced an oration, which evinces what a master in the art of flattering the aged warrior approved himself. Here it is:

“ Illustrious Ladies and Chevaliers,

“ No one among you can be ignorant that not a single day passes, no not an instant, in which we do not behold the attention of our most gracious Empress to increase the lustre of her empire, to extend the sphere of happiness to her subjects in general, and to enhance the renown of her nobility in particular.

“ This

"This incomparable sovereign has made choice of the present auspicious day, to give to the primé nobility of her empire an opportunity of signalizing their dexterity in the military exercises of a brilliant carousal, and such as has never hitherto been presented in Russia. Who but must partake with me in sentiments of admiration and gratitude; which her Majesty has so justly earned by this maternal goodness and foresight?

"Illustrious Ladies and Chevaliers; you have acquitted yourselves in these noble exercises in a manner worthy of your birth, and calculated to give you the assurance of having merited the good graces of her Majesty, the favour of his lordship the Grand-duke, and universal applause."

He then turned to the Countess de Boutourlin, who had gained the first prize, and said:

"To you, Madam, her Imperial Majesty authorizes me to assign the first prize, the recompense of an address and grace far above the ordinary standard, and which have commanded every suffrage. Permit me, Madam, to be the first to congratulate you on this honourable distinction, which entitles you to distribute, with your glorious hands, the other prizes to the ladies and the valorous knights."

"As to myself, grown grey in a military service of sixty-six years, the oldest man and the most ancient general in Europe, after having enjoyed the glory of more than once leading the Russian armies to victory, I consider as the recompense which crowns all my labours, the honour of having been this day not only the witness, but, what is much more, the premier judge of your glorious exploits."

Catharine, at the same time, had the skill to employ more honourable means to establish her authority. She engaged in useful reforms and establishments. She corrected the courts of justice; she founded schools, hospitals, colonies. She endeavoured to inspire her people with love to the laws, and to soften their

their manners by instruction. Fond of unbounded sway, ardent in the pursuit of every species of glory, she wished to be at once a conqueror and a law-giver. Amidst conspiracies formed to subvert her throne, occupied in making preparations for a war which seemed to engross her whole attention, and engaged in intrigues of gallantry, she overlooked nothing that could command respect or captivate admiration.

There was at that time no country in the world in which jurisprudence was more perplexed and more uncertain than in Russia. The formless code of Alexis Michaelowitz, composed to serve as the basis of legislation, was, if not abrogated, at least contradicted, by the numerous edicts of his successors, edicts always dictated by the interest or caprice of the moment. The senate, the colleges, the benches of the empire, embarrassed by so many contending authorities and statutes, protracted law-suits to perpetuity, or terminated them without any regard to equity. To this evil was added one of still greater magnitude, that of the venality of the judges, and the unlimited power with which they were armed.

Catharine resolved to apply a remedy to all these irregularities, and she laboured not altogether unsuccessfully. She established in the senate and in the colleges various departments, which, having only one line of business to employ each in particular, must necessarily produce a more regular mode of procedure, greater dispatch, and supply fewer resources to chicane. Afterwards, to deprive the judges of every pretext to excuse their negligence or their prevarication, she increased the emoluments of their places, a method which unfortunately is not always effectual, but which proves that Catharine well understood the character of the nation which she governed. In truth, if magistrates had possessed a sense of virtue, was it not rather by the sentiment of glory than by pecuniary rewards that they ought to have been stimulated

lated to flee injustice? The Empress employed therefore the motive which she believed capable of influencing them most powerfully. She said in the oukase addressed to them:—"Want may hitherto have favoured a propensity to interest: but your country is henceforth herself to pay the price of your labours; and what till now might be pardonable is going to become criminal." Catharine did more than increase the salaries of the judges; she settled one half the sum on them, after age and infirmities had obliged them to quit their stations. This first labour being accomplished, the Empress turned her attention to the framing of a new code of laws.

All the provinces of Russia, and even the barbarous nations which inhabit the most remote regions of that vast empire, were ordered to send deputies to Moscow, to communicate their ideas respecting the laws best adapted to their condition. Catharine herself repaired to that capital. The opening of this assembly of the states was conducted with extraordinary pomp. It was undoubtedly an interesting and a novel spectacle, that of the deputies of numerous tribes, so different in their manners, in their garb, in their language, and they must have been astonished to find themselves convoked to discuss the laws by which they were to be governed, they who till then had never known what it was but to yield implicit obedience to the arbitrary will of a master, whom they frequently did not know.

The Empress, who wished to bestow on this assembly an appearance of the most perfect liberty, had a gallery erected for herself in the hall, from whence, without being visible, she could hear and see every thing that passed. They began by reading the instructions translated into the Russian tongue, the original of which, written in French, and copied almost entirely by the Empress's own hand, has since been deposited in the library of the academy of Petersburg.

tersburgh. The reading was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause. The illumination, the wisdom, the humanity of the sovereign were extolled to the skies. But fear and flattery had a greater share in dictating those praises than admiration. They wished to attract the favour of the Empress, or, at least, escape a journey into Siberia. The deputies of the Samojedes alone had the courage to speak freely. One of them, in the name of his fellows, arose and said: "We are simple and honest. We pasture our reindeer in tranquillity. We have no occasion for a new code: but compose for the Russians, our neighbours, and for the governors whom you send us, laws that may restrain their rapacity."

The new sittings were not so orderly. Mention had been made of granting liberty to the peasants. Many thousands of those oppressed creatures were preparing to maintain, by force, what they expected from equity. The nobility were apprehensive of an insurrection; they dreaded, above all things the diminution of their riches, and some of the nobles had the audacity to declare they would poignard the first person who should propose the enfranchisement of the serfs. In the face of this menace, Count Scheremetoff, the richest individual in Russia, said that he cheerfully consented to the enfranchisement in question. Debates grew warm, and threatened fatal consequences. The Empress had delegated to the deputies an authority so unlimited, that with a moderate share of address they might have acquired the power of dethroning her who had brought them together. Some of them went so far as to intimate that they understood the full extent of their power. Catharine shrunk from the idea of it, and the deputies were speedily sent back to their several provinces.

Previous, however, to the dissolution of this assembly, it was deemed necessary that it should signalize itself by some dazzling expression of gratitude. It was

determined, that if the benefit proposed to the nation should be lost to the public, it should not be so at least to the sovereign, with whom the noble idea had originated. There were voted accordingly to that Princess, by general acclamation, the titles of the GREAT, the WISE, the PRUDENT; and the MOTHER OF HER COUNTRY; but when she was supplicated to accept of those titles, she replied with an affected modesty, "That if she rendered herself worthy of the first, it was the province of posterity to bestow it; that wisdom and prudence were gifts from heaven, for which she offered up daily thanks, without presuming to make a merit of them; that, finally, the title of Mother of her Country was by far the dearest in her eyes, the only one of which she could accept, and which she considered as superior to every other, as the sweetest, the most glorious recompense of the labours she supported, and the sollicitude she underwent for a people so dear to her."

It may not be unimportant to observe, that the Empress made a present to each of the deputies of a gold medal, designed to transmit to posterity the object of their convocation; and that the greatest part of those mean wretches almost immediately sold their medals to the goldsmiths.)

Proud of the performance which had procured her the homage of the assembly of Moscow, Catharine eagerly exerted herself to send copies of it to the sovereigns whose good-will she was solicitous to acquire. They all presented compliments of congratulation on the magnanimous undertaking in which she had engaged, and did not hesitate to assure her that it would be an everlasting monument of her glory. The King of Prussia, who well knew her disposition to swallow flattery, and who always lavished it upon her with no less delicacy than address, wrote her a long letter, in which he placed her between Solon and Lycurgus; and in his official dispatch to the Count de Solms, thus expresses himself:—"... His-

tory

"tory informs us that Semiramis commanded armies; Queen Elizabeth of England is ranked among the greatest politicians; Maria-Theresa of Austria displayed uncommon intrepidity on her accession to the throne; but no woman had hitherto been a legislatrix; that glory was reserved for the Empress of Russia, and well does she deserve it." The Empress received this letter at Kasan. She was then on a visit to her Asiatic provinces, and the famous banks of the Volga,

What must appear rather extraordinary is, that while Catharine was exerting herself to rent the fabric of her glory on a solid basis, she should deem it a matter of singular importance to obtain from all the powers of Europe the title of *Imperial Majesty*, which some of them refused her. The King of Sweden had long granted it; but the Swedish diet did not carry their complaisance so far till the beginning of this year.

A. D. 1768. Louis XV. obstinately persisted in withholding this designation. Knowing that the sovereigns of Russia had never begun to assume the title of Emperor till the time of Peter I. he considered them as in some measure a newly created nobility. He did not reflect that the power of Princes, not the antiquity of their race, constitutes their claims. The refusal of the King of France was a source of humiliation to Catharine; but was not the only reason she had to be displeased with him. She entertained no doubt that this monarch was acquainted with all the secrets of the conspiracy which had placed her on the throne; and she knew besides, that the French ambassador at Constantinople had long been employing his influence to induce the Turks to declare war against Russia. What then would she have thought, had she read a letter written by the Duke de Choiseul, of which she herself was the subject?—"We well know," said he, "the inconsiderate animosity of the court of Russia against France. The King

“ has such a rooted contempt of the Princess who governs that country, of her sentiments and conduct, that our intention is not to move a single step toward procuring an alteration. The King considers the hatred of Catharine as much more honourable than her friendship. At the same time he wishes to avoid the explosion of an open rupture.”

But the intrigues of a foreign court and the dangers of war could not greatly disturb Catharine; nay, they were perhaps as necessary to her as the unremitting attention she paid to the government of her empire, to ward off the remorse and horror which pursued her. She could not help frequently reflecting that a single moment might strip her of the fruit of her crimes, and that the greatest part of her subjects passionately longed for such a moment. The name of Peter III. was become dear to the Russians. They recollected with complacency the good which he had done, the desire he expressed of doing more; they forgot his errors, his weaknesses, expiated by too many calamities. They mourned over the dismal lot of this Prince; and the croud of malecontents with which the empire was peopled, might conceal more than one avenger.

Stung to the quick by the deplorable death of the Czar, and enraged to behold his executioners dividing among them his spoils, a young officer, named Tschogloloff, resolved to avenge him, and believed that heaven itself had inspired the design. After long reflection on the means of executing his sanguinary purpose, he repaired to the palace several days successively, keeping himself always concealed in a dark passage which led to the remote apartments, whither the Empress resorted when she wished to be in private. Chance saved the life of this Princess, by preventing her from going along the passage in which Tschogloloff waited for her. Vexed at a delay which he had not foreseen, and impatient to strike a blow which he deemed important to his country and glorious

rious to himself, this young man had the imprudence to impart his secret to another officer, whom he considered as his friend. That friend made haste to betray him. Orloff, informed of the measures which Tschogloloff was taking, and of the instant when he resumed his station to wait for the Empress, had him arrested on the spot. He was found armed with a long dagger, and, without hesitation, acknowledged the use which he intended to make of it. Catharine, always sufficiently mistress of herself to conceal her indignation and her terrors, affected to pardon the daring invader of her life, whom a fit of political fanaticism had misled. She even admitted him to her presence, and spoke to him with gentleness. This generosity was merely a disguise. Catharine was solicitous to hide from the public eye a design which, had it been known, might soon have been imitated. But, as she could not flatter herself with the hope of making a thorough convert of a man who, through an excess of humanity, had meditated assassination, she soon ordered Tschogloloff to be arrested and exiled to the wilds of Siberia.

To that very Siberia, however, whither Russia sends men condemned, into an exile worse than death; to those ever frozen deserts, and to regions still colder, she is indebted for a great part of her wealth and glory. The agents of the two boards of commerce, the one of which is established at Kamtschatka; and the other at the mouth of the Kowima, informed the court of Peterburgh of the discovery they had made of the Aléoutes islands, in the strait which separates the north-west coast of America from the continent of Asia. The navigators of the two companies had arrived there almost at the same time, and purchased peltry, employing the means necessary to the continuance of that commerce. The furs thence produced, and which they sent to the Empress, were extremely beautiful, especially those of the black fox.

About the same time Catharine formed the useful project of employing several men of talents to travel over the interior of her vast estates, in order to ascertain the geographical position of the principal places, to observe their temperature, and to examine the nature of the soil, its productions, its riches, as well as the manners and the character of the tribes who people it. Supplied with every thing that could contribute toward the success of an enterprise so noble, Pallas and Falk set out early in the year for the districts of the Volga, and the governments of Orenburgh, of Ekaterinenburgh, and of Kasan. Gmelin and Guldenstedt were soon after dispatched to visit the banks of the Don and of the Donietz, up to the Dnieper, as well as all the country extending from Astrakan to the frontiers of Persia. To this undertaking we stand indebted for the interesting works of Pallas and of Gmelin.

Affured that it is less by the power of arms than by superiority in arts and sciences, that nations acquire a brilliant reputation in the annals of mankind, Catharine zealously encouraged men of letters and artists. She appropriated the sum of 5000 roubles annually, to reward persons who should translate into the Russian language foreign books which merited that distinction. She granted additional privileges to the academy of sciences at Petersburg, and invited illustrious strangers to add the celebrity of their names to that of the names which already graced it.

She likewise increased the number of pupils in the academy of arts, founded during the reign of Elizabeth, and established an order in it, better adapted to attain the object of its institution. Ever since this reform took place, no pupil can be admitted who is above six years of age, in order to prevent the pernicious effects of a faulty education, in corrupting the understanding or the moral character. After being under the tuition of females for three years, they are turned over to male instructors, and devote

devote their attention to the particular art for which they discover the greatest inclination. They may become painters, sculptors, architects, watch-makers, or learn the art of foundery, and of constructing physical and mathematical instruments. During the whole period of their residence in the academy, they are permitted to receive nothing from their relations. They are clothed and boarded at the expense of the state. At the age of fifteen they leave the academy. They are at liberty to settle wherever they please; and, if their conduct corresponds to the care employed in carrying on their education, letters of nobility are granted them. Independently of these advantages, those of the pupils who have carried off the first prizes, receive, for three years, a pension to enable them to travel through Europe.

The Empress well knew her subjects believed that she did not love her son, and that this was one of the causes of their estrangement from her. She found means to make them change this opinion; means which were at once to serve as a proof of her courage and a preservative of her beauty. Inoculation for the small-pox began to be practised in Europe; but this salutary mode of treating the distemper wore a terrifying aspect, and no sovereign had hitherto dared to undergo the operation. Catharine resolved that her son should submit to it. Before she tried the experiment on him, she had herself inoculated by Doctor Dimsdale, a famous English surgeon; and, when she was satisfied that no danger attended the process, prevailed with the Grand-duke to follow her example. The success was complete in both cases. The senate instituted a festival on the occasion. Dimsdale was magnificently recompensed; the courage and maternal tenderness of the Empress were extolled all over Europe.

From the moment that Turkey began to threaten, Catharine, who did not yet find herself in a condition to make war to advantage, suspended the regulation

lation of the limits between Russia and Poland; but she did not, however, renounce the hope of successfully invading a part of that kingdom; the wretched inhabitants of which she continued to divide and to oppress. Those who were most impatient of the Russian yoke, had oftener than once the boldness to attack their armies. Encouraged by Austria, and especially by France, they made themselves masters of the city of Cracow, of a part of Podolia, and united their powers in the fortress of Bar, the name of which was then given to this confederation, which its bold exertions, and its misfortunes have raised to celebrity.

The Empress ordered a fresh reinforcement of troops to enter Poland, the command of which she gave to lieutenant-general Soltikoff. The confederates, panic-struck, addressed themselves a second time to the Turks. The Count de Vergennes, informed of this procedure, renewed his importunities to the divan, in the view of stimulating that cabinet to support the Poles, and oppose the ambitious projects of Catharine. In this he succeeded. The ambassador of that Princess was committed to the castle of the Seven Towers, and the *reis-effendi* delivered a manifesto to the foreign ministers, containing a declaration of war by the Grand-Signor against Russia, and accusing her of having infringed treaties, and violated the territory of the Ottoman empire. But supposing Vergennes to have employed no influence to rouse the Turks to take up arms, ought they to have been tame spectators of the aggressions of Russia? Ought they to have beheld with indifference Catharine treating Poland as a conquered province, in leaving it, by way of derision, the double title of kingdom and republic? Would it not even have been sound policy in all the other powers to imitate the noble example of the Ottomans, and unite to check the oppressors of Poland. But the attention of each of them was engrossed by its own private

private advantage, without reflecting that their joint and leading interest was to maintain the balance of Europe. The Turks gave out that they were going to open the campaign with an army of 500,000 men. The Empress, by this time, feared neither the menaces nor the undisciplined multitudes of the Ottomans. She had been allowed time to prepare for her defence, her exertions were formidable. She too addressed a manifesto to all the ministers of the neutral or allied powers, and declared war by sound of trumpet in Peterburgh.

A. D. 1769. The Russian armies were speedily in motion, and extended their progress from the banks of the Danube to those of the river Kuban. The Tartars of the Crimea, who had engaged on the side of the Turks, were the first against whom Catharine's armies signalized their prowess. General Isakoff drove 12,000 of them out of New Servia, into which they had penetrated under the command of their Khan. Masters of Azoff and of Taganrok, the Russians put these two places in a condition to resist their ancient possessors, and laboured unremittingly to increase the small squadrons which have since secured to them the empire of the Black Sea.

The Kosaks of the Ukraine penetrated into Moldavia. Prince Gallitzin, who commanded the principal Russian-army, passed the Dnieper, and attacked 30,000 Turks, under the ramparts of Khoczim, but met with a repulse, and the conquerors pursued him to the other side of the river. That general then published a manifesto, inviting all the Poles, who were not of the confederation of Bar, to take up arms against this confederation. Soltikoff had already solemnly declared to his army, that if any one, officer or soldier, took a confederate prisoner, and spared his life, he should be severely punished. Nine noble Polanders soon after appeared at Warsaw, with both hands cut off. This mutilation was the work

of the Russian General Drewitz. The barbarian had acted at once as their judge and their executioner.

Catharine recalled from Warsaw Prince Repnin, whose insolence gave just offence to every Polish man, without excepting even the warmest friends of Russia. He was replaced as ambassador by Prince Wolkonsky, who exerted himself in vain to effect the re-confederation already proposed in Gallitzin's manifesto. The Empress clearly perceived how dangerous it would be for her to have a general union among the Poles against the Russians. But the efforts of her generals, and the intrigues of her ministers, served her views at that time much less effectually than the weakness and inattention of the court of Versailles. Had that court been really in earnest, the confederation of Bar would have been generalized, the Porte potently supported, and Poland would still have been among the number of the powers of Europe.

Long before the execution of the partition of Poland, the Empress and the King of Prussia were equally sensible of the necessity of a personal conference on this important subject. But apprehensive that such an interview would not fail to give umbrage to the other powers, and that perhaps the object of it might be discovered, they thought proper to give it up. Frederick, upon this, having furnished his brother, Prince Henry, with proper instructions, dispatched him to Russia. The better to conceal the design of his journey, Prince Henry gave out that he had nothing in view but to pay a visit to his sister, the Queen of Sweden. When he got to Stockholm he declared it to be his intention to return to Prussia by way of Denmark. But he appeared all of a sudden to change his purpose, and, under affectation of complaisance to Catharine, yielded to her request, that, being so near, he would favour her with a visit at Petersburg. Thus, though Prince Henry left Berlin

Berlin, expressly in the view of travelling into Russia, he contrived to have it believed that there was no premeditation in the case.

Prince Henry embarked at Stockholm, in a galley which conveyed him to Abo, the capital of Finland. Thence he repaired to Petersburg. A chamberlain from the Empress advanced to meet him on the frontiers of Russia. General Bibikoff received him at the last station previous to his reaching the metropolis, and conducted him to the palace prepared for his residence, and where the prime minister, Panin, was waiting to welcome him. The Prince entered the city under a discharge of artillery; and every where received the honours usually paid to crowned heads. Next day he went to court with a splendid retinue, and dined in public with the Empress. Every thing was conducted this day with the most rigid attention to ceremony; but etiquette was afterwards dispensed with, and the Empress and the Prince could meet and converse at perfect ease.

A. D. 1770. Every day was distinguished by some festival, or some new spectacle. We shall not go into the detail of any of these, except of the *fête* given at Tzarsko-Zelo. Its magnificence entitles it to a place in history.

As the evening set in, the Empress, the Grand-duke, Prince Henry, and different personages about court, to the number of sixteen, took their places in an immense sledge, drawn by sixteen horses, the carriage covered, and lined with double glasses, which re-produced the images, without number, of all the objects within or on the outside. This sledge, followed by above 2000 more, left Petersburg; the whole company masked and wearing dominos.

When the cavalcade had advanced a mile from the city, it passed under a vast triumphal arch superbly illuminated. At the end of every mile in continuation, a grand pyramid arose, lighted up with singular art, and opposite to each of these was reared a plat-

a platform, on which the young peasantry of both sexes were dancing. Each platform presented a different nation, which its dress, its mode of dancing, and its music, rendered easily distinguishable.

Half a league short of the chateau of Tzariko-Zelo, rose a lofty mountain, representing Vesuvius when he vomits out torrents of fire. This artificial eruption lasted all the time the carriages were filing off in sight of the mountain.

The interior of the palace of Tzariko-Zelo was irradiated by an infinite number of wax-lights. The dancing commenced and continued for two hours in different saloons. A discharge of cannon was suddenly heard, the dancing ceased, the wax-lights were extinguished, all the company flocked to the windows and enjoyed the exhibition of a very magnificent artificial firework. Another burst of artillery then gave the signal to relumine the apartments. A sumptuous entertainment had already been served up. On rising from supper the dancing recommenced, and lasted till the morning. Prince Henry passed all his evenings with the Empress, in a favourite retreat, which that Princess denominated her hermitage.

Perhaps it may be proper to convey an idea of this retreat which, under a modest name, contains every article of the most refined luxury. It occupies a complete wing of the imperial palace. The entrance is by a gallery decorated with valuable pictures. The other apartments are two saloons very elegantly finished, and a dining-room, in which the company is entertained at confidential tables of different sizes. No domestic is permitted to enter this apartment. All that is needful is to strike the wainscot, and there instantly start up tables replenished with every thing desirable. From this hall there is a communication with a winter garden, where the guests walk through well gravelled alleys, under verdant trees, and amidst fruits and flowers of every species. This garden is raised

raised on arches, and the flues which are underneath keep up constantly a gentle warmth ; so that in the most rigorous season, you may gather there the peach and the pine-apple, the hyacinth and the rose.

Above is a terrace, where another garden in the Asiatic taste appears ; but it can be enjoyed only in summer.

At the hermitage there was likewise a theatre, where they represented dramatic pieces, composed by the Empress and the wits of her court, and which generally consisted of satire on foreign courts, or of ludicrous allusions to well-known characters at Petersburg.

Prince Henry expressed a wish to see Moscow. He was immediately conveyed thither, in the carriages of the country, with uncommon rapidity. Three weeks after he found himself again at Petersburg.

Among the various presents which he received from the Empress, particular notice was taken of the plate of the order of St. Andrew, decorated with very large brilliants, as well as a single diamond, valued at 40,000 roubles. The ring which contained this jewel, was farther enriched by a portrait of Catharine.

But neither banquetings nor other amusements diverted Prince Henry's attention from the secret object of his visit. In the private interviews he had with the Empress, to dismember Poland was a point determined. Catharine and Frederick were equally desirous to undertake the division of the spoil, but it was impossible without the co-operation of a third ally. Had Maria-Theresa still been sole mistress of the empire, it would have been, perhaps, impossible to decoy her into a scheme of plunder so palpably unjust. Joseph II. was not so squeamish. Turkey, France, England, would likewise have had it in their power to maintain the treaties of which they were guarantees ; but those powers were so liable to imposition, or so indifferent to the fate of other

other nations, that Catharine had the assurance to say to Prince Henry :—" I will bully Turkey and cajole England : be it your care to buy Austria, that she may lull France to sleep."

Prince Henry had such a just presentiment of the dispositions of Joseph II. and of his minister Kaunitz, that he acted as if he had been already in concert with them. He settled with Catharine the conditions of the partition of Poland, and fixed the extent of territory which each of the partitioning powers was to appropriate to itself. The treaty between those powers, however, was not signed till two years after.

The war continued to rage on the frontiers of Turkey. Prince Gallitzin, mortified at his defeat, made a fresh attempt upon Khoczim. It was not more successful than the first. Sixty thousand Turks had just marched to the relief of that place ; they defended it vigorously, and pursued the Russians into Poland. Vanquished in their turn, they fell back and re-entered Moldavia. At the opening of this campaign, the Turks fought with great valour and obstinacy ; but the ignorance of their generals and the disorder which prevailed in their armies frequently disappointed them of victory. After a series of battles, during ten months, their force was reduced to almost nothing, and the fortress of Khoczim, which had been at first so gallantly defended, was tamely surrendered to two hundred Russian grenadiers.

The Empress having been informed, that when the Turks pursued Prince Gallitzin they had entered the Polish territories, insisted that Poland ought not to suffer with impunity that infraction of the treaty of Carlowitz. Stanislaus-Augustus and the senate of Warsaw, ever submissive to the will of Catharine, declared war against the Porte. This measure, however, added absolutely nothing to the force of Russia. What could be done by a state without an army,
without

without money, and abandoned to all the horrors of anarchy?

But Catharine conceived a project more worthy of her genius. While her armies were pressing the Ottomans on the banks of the Pruth, of the Danube, and of the Dnieper, and her fleets triumphing over them on the Black Sea, she formed a resolution to attack them in the very islands of Greece. Immediately a squadron of fifteen ships of the line, six frigates, a fleet of transports and bomb-vessels, carrying frames of galleys and a body of troops ready for debarkation, issued from the extremity of the Baltic, cleared the North Sea and the Strait of Gibraltar, and after having been dispersed by a tempest, rejoined, and displayed a triumphant flag over the Archipelago. This squadron was commanded by Admiral Spiridoff: but that admiral was himself subject to the command of Alexis Orloff, whom the perpetration of a detestable crime had suddenly raised from the rank of soldier to that of general, and in whose character audacity supplied the place of talents and experience.

Long before she dispatched her fleet for the Archipelago, the Empress had maintained an understanding with the principal islands of Greece. Her emissaries flattered her with the hope of exciting a general revolt in those countries. The Marquis Maruzzi, banker at Corfou, and a proselyte to the Greek religion, had paid a visit to Petersburg, where he was decorated with the ribbon of Saint-Anne, and with the title of Minister of Russia to Venice. He promised, in return, to advance the sums necessary to the equipment of Alexis Orloff's expedition, and actually did furnish 35,000,000 of livres.

On the issue of the war against the Turks depended the fate of Poland, and the consideration which Russia was henceforth to enjoy in Europe. Catharine was fully aware of this. She accordingly exerted all the efforts of her power, and all the resources of her

genius to ensure success. New squadrons were constructed; recruits innumerable proceeded to reinforce her armies. Dissatisfied with Prince Gallitzin, she recalled him, and gave the command of his army to Count Romanzoff, who was replaced in the Ukraine by General Panin. Prince Dolgorouky was at the head of a third army.

The Turks did not fail at the same time to reinforce their armies, and to give the command to generals whom they believed most capable of leading them to battle. The Grand-vizir himself assumed the supreme command. They likewise received powerful succours from the Crimea. The celebrated Krim-Gherai was just dead, and was succeeded by his nephew. This new Khan was feeble and pacific. The Turks had him deposed, and in his room was elected Kaplan-Gherai, a warlike prince, who soon appeared at the head of an united army of Tartars and Ottomans.

The Russians opened the campaign with the siege of Bender, a place renowned in history by the retreat and long residence of Charles XII. But, harassed by the Tartars, they were obliged to abandon for some time their attempt to capture that city. More fortunate in another quarter, they made themselves masters of Yassi and of Brailow. These advantages were of little importance. Two grand battles decided the fate of the campaign, and secured the glory of Romanzoff. The first was fought on the banks of the Pruth. The Turks, to the number of eighty thousand men, were commanded by the Khan of the Crimea, and were strongly entrenched on a rising ground, where it was impossible to attack them with advantage. Romanzoff advanced and encamped opposite to them, and for almost a month offered them battle, but to no purpose. At last they grew impatient. A movement made by Romanzoff induced them to believe he was going to retreat, and twenty thousand men descended to pursue him.

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They were driven back with considerable loss to their camp, into which they carried terror and confusion.

Animated by this success, the Russians were not slack to force their way up the hill, and, after a vigorous resistance, the enemy was driven from his entrenchment, leaving behind part of his baggage and artillery. The Turks on this retreated toward the Danube, in hope of being reinforced by detachments from the great Ottoman army. In effect, the Grand-vizir, who commanded it, passed the river, and came to the relief of the vanquished. Romanzoff who, believing he was in pursuit merely of a routed army, advanced toward the mouth of the Pruth, found himself, before he was aware, in presence of 150,000 Ottomans. His situation was so much the more dangerous, that he had been under the necessity of detaching part of his army to protect a convoy on its way to join him. The Khan, panting for revenge, extended his line along the left of the Russian army, and even surrounded it in such a manner as to be able to cut off a retreat.

Though the Russians had, at that time, but 18,000 men to oppose to the formidable army of the Turks, these last employed the same precautions as if they had to encounter an enemy as numerous as themselves. During the night they enclosed their camp with a triple entrenchment. Next morning the Grand-vizir gave the signal of battle, and the Russians were attacked on all sides. A hot fire was kept up for five hours. Of five square battalions which the Russians formed, one was entirely cut to pieces. General Romanzoff, apprehending the total destruction of his army from the enemy's cannon and musketry, gave orders to break in upon them with bayonets fixed. The Turks fell back, and retreated within their entrenchments, where they long defended themselves with much intrepidity; but number yielded to military skill and discipline. The de-

feat of the Ottomans was complete. They retreated, drawing along the vizir in their flight, and leaving almost a third of their army stretched on the field of battle. The greatest part of their baggage and ammunition; one hundred and forty-three pieces of brass cannon, and seven thousand waggon-load of provisions, fell into the hands of the Russians, and furnished them with the means of securing farther victories. Romanzoff quickly passed the Danube. Prince Repnin made himself master of Ismailoff. Panin had again laid siege to Bender. That place, well fortified and defended by a numerous garrison, but destitute of all hope of succour, surrendered after a resistance of almost three months. Igelftrohm carried by assault Ac-Kerman, the capital of Bessarabia, and situated on the Black Sea at the mouth of the Dnieper, and opposite to the new Russian port of Adjider.

The news of such signal successes inflamed the pride and increased the security of Catharine. The malecontents who surrounded her throne dared no longer to conspire against a princess who was extending her triumphs afar over her most formidable enemies. The provinces of Walachia and Moldavia, subjected to the Russian arms, sent deputies to Petersburg to tender their homage to the Empress. She received them magnificently, and loaded them with benefits. At the same time many foreign officers, who had arrived to offer their services to Catharine, obtained employment in her armies, and some English and Danish seamen, distinguished by their talents and experience, were incorporated into the Russian marine.

We have formerly suggested, that soon after her accession to the throne Catharine had, from the conversation of Mareschal Munich, been led to entertain the idea of getting possession of Constantinople, and of driving the Ottomans out of Europe. That veteran warrior had even urged her to make the attempt. But too many obstacles then arose to prevent the

the execution of this bold design. The propitious moment seemed to have at length come. Nevertheless, not daring to hope it could be in her power to hold in subjection all the islands of Greece, the Empress wished at least to wrest them from the dominion of the Turks, and the most despotic of sovereigns resolved to become the patroness of liberty in those delicious regions, and in them to found a republic. It has likewise been already observed, that secret agents had disposed the Greeks to revolt. That people, once so haughty and now so degraded, expected the Russians as their deliverers. Captain Plefcheieff sailing from Cronstadt on board a frigate, was the first who displayed Catharine's flag in the Mediterranean. Admiral Spiridoff afterwards made his appearance, as has been mentioned, with a very superior force; and at the moment his squadron reached Cape Matapan, the whole Archipelago thought itself liberated. The Mänotes, descended from the ancient Lacedemonians, first took up arms, Their neighbours imitated the example, and in some of the islands the Turks were massacred. But they took cruel vengeance on the Greek insurgents. The fabre of the Janissaries exterminated many thousands of those miserable beings.

The squadron of Admiral Spiridoff was soon joined by that of Elphinston, an English naval officer, rear-admiral in the service of Russia, and much more capable of taking the command than the person under whom he served. To this double squadron was opposed that of the Capitan-Pacha, whose ship was commanded by the renowned Gazi-Hassan, a man of singular intrepidity, and who stood in need only of being seconded in order frequently to obtain the victory.

The Turks at first obliged the Russians to retreat from Lemnos. The two fleets afterwards met in the channel which separates the island of Scio from Naxos. The Turkish vessels were more in number, and found themselves as it were entrenched behind

little isles and rocks on a level with the water's edge. The Russians, however, were not afraid to attack them. The Capitan-Pacha, whose flag was on board the *Sultana* of 90 guns, engaged Admiral Spiridoff. The two ships grappled. The efforts of courage on both sides were dreadful. Showers of balls and grenades crossed with rapidity the decks of both admirals. The flag-ship of the Capitan-Pacha caught fire; that of the Russians was unable to disengage herself. They blew up together, and the sea was covered with their smoking fragments. The commanders and a few of their officers alone survived this disaster.

While the conflagration lasted, the other ships, struck with terror, had given over fighting. Soon however they formed, and renewed the attack with fresh animosity. The return of night suspended the combat. The Turks were then so imprudent as to retreat into the narrow and muddy bay of Tschesmé, where some of their vessels run aground, and the rest were so crowded as to be rendered incapable of acting. The Russians, who had discerned this blunder, resolved to avail themselves of it. Next day rear-admiral Elphinston took his station at the entrance of the bay, to hinder the Turks from getting out. He afterwards gave orders to get ready four fire-ships, commanded by an English lieutenant of the name of Dugdale, and supported by the division of another British officer, rear-admiral Greig. Toward midnight Greig renews the combat, with four ships of the line and two frigates. A little after Dugdale advances with his fire-ships, and bidding defiance to the enemy's shot, and encouraging by his example the Russians appointed to second him, he himself lashes a fire-ship to one of the Turkish vessels, and with his hands, face and hair scorched, leaps into the sea, and swims back to the Russian squadron. The Turkish ships lay so close that the whole became a prey to the flames. The sun, as he arose, no more beheld their flag displayed.

Far from making any effort to stop the progress of the conflagration, the Turkish crews thought only of making their escape. Many of the seamen took to flight in the boats, others sprung over board to swim, and all who got on shore dispersed over the country, and abandoned themselves to outrages upon the miserable inhabitants, which the Russians themselves could not perhaps have exceeded. It was found necessary to march troops to check the progress of those banditti, who were on the point of plundering and burning the city of Gallipoli, when the Grand-vizir Moldavangi-Ali-Pacha, lately recalled from exile, routed them. Constantinople, at that period, presented a hideous spectacle. More than one thousand persons were every day carried off by the plague. Deserters, and other profligates, were incessantly setting fire to some quarter of the city, that they might have it in their power to plunder with impunity. They even had the audacity, one time, to assemble in the suburb of Pera and come to blows with the Janissaries, whose sabre extirpated a great number of them. There was a violent apprehension, at the same time, that the Russians were going to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and the Baron de Tott was employed to erect additional batteries to guard the entrance.

After the annihilation of the Turkish fleet, the Russians went and anchored off Paros, whence they could easily exercise dominion over all the seas of Greece, and in which not a single vessel appeared but what paid homage to their flag. The Turks were so much the more uneasy at having such an enemy in their vicinity, that rebellion had broken out in various parts of their empire. The Pachas of Caramania, almost always on bad terms with the Porte, availed themselves of the present disasters entirely to shake off the yoke. That part of Syria which is under Sidon and Tripoli imitated the example, and the old Scheik Daher excited revolt in

all the country which extends from Acre to the plains of Esdraelon and to the frontiers of Egypt.

But of all the chiefs who signalized themselves by rebellion against the Grand-signor, he who undoubtedly was the most formidable, and could best serve Russia, was Ali-Bey. Raised from the rank of simple mameluc to that of bey, he distinguished himself by his courage, and experienced in early life both the favours and the frowns of fortune. The rivals of his power succeeded in driving him from Cairo: but he soon re-entered that city as a conqueror, and drove them out in his turn. He knew that the Porte favoured the opposition made to him, and, animated with an implacable resentment, he desired nothing so much as the power of contributing to the subversion of the Ottoman empire. The arrival of the Russian squadrons seemed to present a favourable opportunity of glutting his revenge.

Never, perhaps, was an expedition to a distant country more successful than that of the Russians to the coasts of Asia-minor. But never, perhaps, at the same time, were there commanders more ignorant, more incapable of estimating the character of foreign nations, more jealous of an ostentatious appearance, and more addicted to debauchery, than Alexis Orloff and his principal officers. Had they possessed the skill of improving their victories and the superiority of their forces, Syria and Egypt would have been forever lost to the Ottoman empire. Ali-Bey earnestly pressed them to support his rebellion, and to send him troops to assist in driving the Turks out of Egypt. But instead of seconding him, Alexis Orloff amused himself with demanding from him an acknowledgment of the Empress as his sovereign.

A young Venetian merchant, named Carlo Rosselli, had insinuated himself into the Bey's confidence, and was the first person employed in carrying on a negotiation with the Russians. No one could be more disposed or better qualified to bring such a treaty

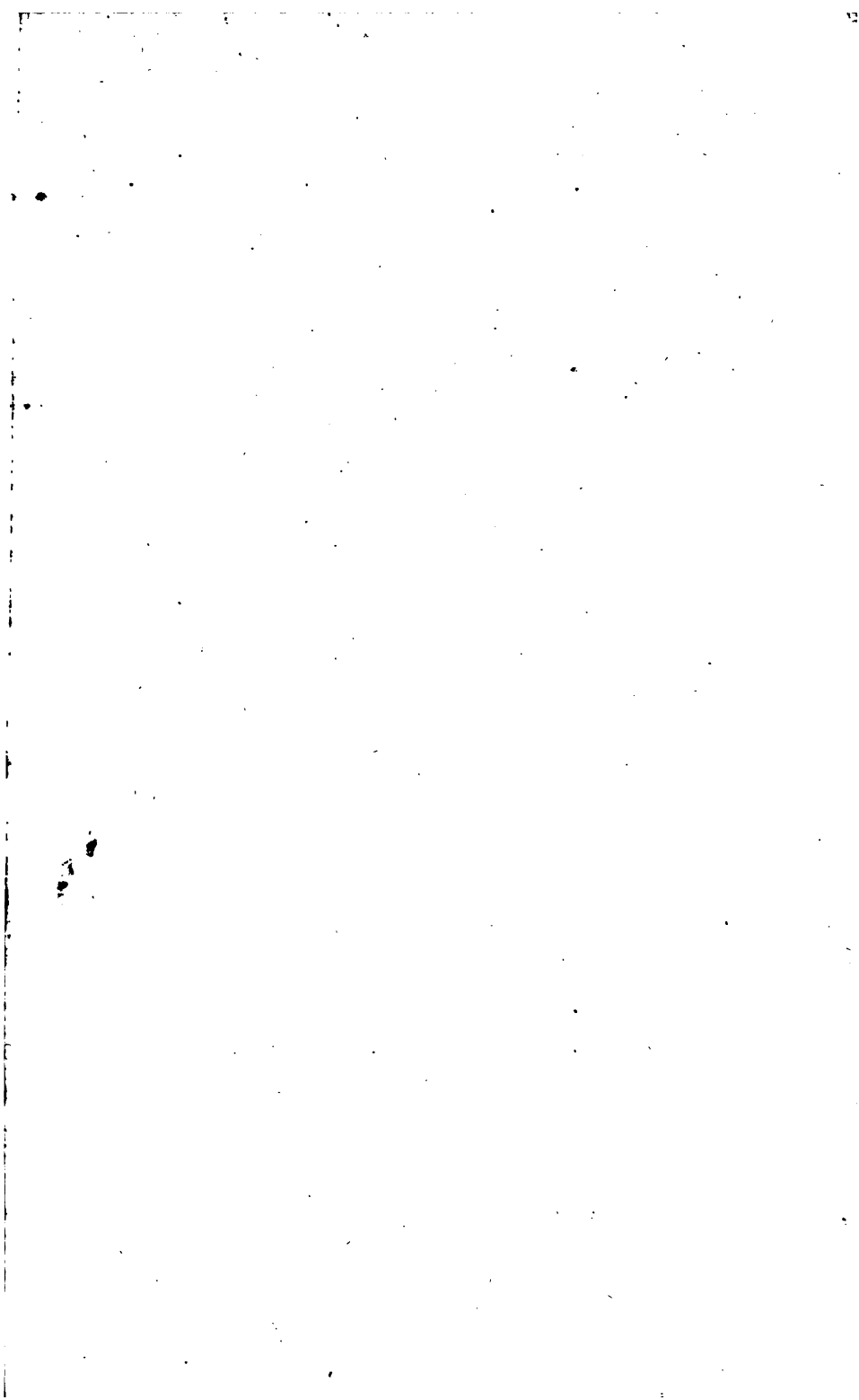
treaty to a happy issue. Orloff had not the sense to take advantage of it. Careless of the information which that crafty Italian had it in his power to give him, and disgusting him by the loftiness of his deportment, he employed Greeks and Jews who deceived him. He distrusted Ali-Bey, and, by his dissingenuousness, forced Ali-Bey to mistrust him. It was but a short time before he left the Archipelago that Alexis Orloff dispatched Plescheieff into Egypt. He was graciously received by the Bey, and flattered himself with the hope of turning his visit to good account for Russia; but he came too late. The return of peace interrupted the negotiation.

A courier, addressed directly to the Empress, carried her the news of the burning of the Turkish fleet; so that she herself had the first information, in all Petersburg, of that event. Count Ivan Tchernischeff, whom the Empress had long before recalled from London and placed over the marine department, had at that time a quarrel with the board of admiralty, and this quarrel had occasioned some delay in dispatching a business of no great consequence. The Empress complained of the delay, and thought no more of it. She knew the conceitedness and the extreme incapacity of Tchernischeff; but suffered him to continue in his place, as she had laid it down for a principle, to change her ministers and ambassadors as seldom as possible. When she sent for Tchernischeff to impart to him the tidings of the conflagration at Tchesmé, the minister, believing that the Empress meant only to talk to him on the subject of the quarrel, called out as he entered the apartment—"I assure you, Madam, it is not my fault."—"O! I know it well," replied she, "but it is not the less certain."—"Ah! yes, Madam, and I am extremely sorry for it."—"How! you sorry that the Turks have no longer a fleet?" returned she with a smile; and immediately communicated to him the dispatches she had received.

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A. D. 1771. The joy of the court of Peterburgh was excessive. Magnificent banquets were given in celebration of the triumph of Tschesmé, and the Empress has since given orders to rear a palace, and to lay the foundations of a city, in commemoration of an event so glorious. Alexis Orloff hastened to Peterburgh, to enjoy the fruits of his achievements, and to apply for the farther means of extending his conquests in the Archipelago. As soon as he made his appearance the festivity recommenced, and the Empress decorated him with the broad ribbon of Saint-George. He proposed to the council a plan, according to which he was to make himself master of all Greece, and separate Egypt from the Ottoman empire. In a word, he undertook to force the dangerous passage of the Dardanelles, and declared that all he wanted to effect this was ten millions of roubles. "I allow you twenty," Catharine instantly replied, "as I wish that nothing should be wanting to you." Orders were at the same time issued for the armament of a fresh squadron, to reinforce that which was already in the Archipelago.

Proud of the favour of the Empress, of the victories, the honour of which he arrogated to himself, and of the laurels which he was going to earn, Alexis Orloff took his departure from Peterburgh on his return to the Archipelago. Having stopped some time at Vienna, he there displayed an extravagant luxury, and indulged himself in indiscretions very unworthy of the minister of a princess of such profound dissimulation as Catharine was. One evening that he supped with the Russian ambassador and a numerous party, he fell a-talking of the revolution which had tumbled Peter III. from the throne. No one dared to address to him the most trivial question relative to the tragical end of the unfortunate Czar. Alexis Orloff, unsolicited, gave the history of it; and, observing the whole company to be shocked at the relation, he thought it a sufficient justification of the
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ALEXIS ORLOFF TSCHESMENSKY.

Published Feb.^r 18.th 1800, by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

the crime he had perpetrated to say, "That it was a sad thing for a man of so much humanity as himself to have been constrained to execute such orders."—But this repentance could not appear sincere. The character of Alexis Orloff was too well known; and his whole conduct demonstrates that he was not a man to be scared by the commission of one murder.

On leaving Vienna, Orloff went to rejoin the Russian squadron which waited for him at Leghorn; and, though in a shattered condition, that squadron continued to ruin the Turkish marine and commerce. The Empress had commissioned him to get four pictures painted in Italy, representing the engagements of her squadron and the conflagration of the Turkish fleet. Orloff was recommended to a celebrated painter, of the name of Hackert. That artist having told him he had never seen a ship blow up, the Russian made no hesitation to furnish him with this spectacle, and risked the burning of all the ships in the road of Leghorn, in order to supply the painter with the means of representing, with greater exactness, the disaster which befel the Capitan-Pacha and Admiral Spiridoff.

Extravagancies are not always crimes. But there is no crime so atrocious that the extravagant Alexis Orloff was incapable of perpetrating. At the time of his departure from Peterburgh he had received orders from Catharine to send her a young unfortunate female, placed beyond the reach of her tyranny. Orloff knew but too well how to execute those barbarous orders. It has already been mentioned that the Empress Elizabeth had three children, the fruit of her clandestine marriage with the master of the buck-hounds, Alexis-Gregoriowitz-Razoumoffsky. The youngest of those children was a daughter educated under the name of Princess Tarrakanoff. Prince Charles Radziwil, informed of this secret, and filled with indignation that Catharine should presume
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to trample under foot the rights of the Polonese, imagined that the daughter of Elizabeth furnished him with the means of executing signal vengeance. He believed it was possible for him to raise a successful opposition to the sovereign whose armies were desolating his unhappy country, in the person of a rival, whom the name of her mother must endear to the Russians. Ambition perhaps presented to him still loftier pretensions: perhaps he flattered himself with the hope of one day partaking the throne to which he wished to elevate the young Tarrakanoff. Be this as it may, he gained over the persons entrusted with the education of this young Princess, carried her off, and conducted her to Rome.

Catharine, apprized of this elopement, strained every nerve to render the designs of Radziwill abortive. Availing herself of his being chief of the confederation of malecontents, she had all his property seized, and reduced him to the necessity of subsisting by the sale of his diamonds, and other valuable effects which he had carried into Italy. These resources were speedily exhausted. Radziwill departed in quest of fresh supplies in Poland, and left the young Tarrakanoff at Rome, under the guardianship of a single governess, and in very narrow circumstances. Scarcely had he got back to his own country when he was offered the restoration of his estates, if he would bring the daughter of Elizabeth again into Russia. He refused to submit to that indignity; but had the weakness to promise he would no longer take any interest in her. At that price he purchased his pardon from Catharine.

Alexis Orloff, charged with the execution of her Imperial Majesty's sovereign will, on his arrival at Leghorn, lost no time in laying a snare for the Princess Tarrakanoff. One of those intriguers, so common in Italy, immediately repaired to Rome; and, having discovered the residence of the Russian damsel, presented himself at her habitation, under the name

name, and in the garb, of an officer of that nation. He pretended at first to be attracted thither simply by a wish to pay homage to a Princess whose fate interested all his compatriots. He affected extreme concern at finding her in such a destitute condition. He offered her relief, which necessity obliged her to accept; and the traitor soon appeared to her, as well as to the woman who attended her, to be a saviour graciously sent them from heaven.

When he thought he had sufficiently insinuated himself into their confidence, he declared that he was empowered, by Count Alexis Orloff, to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth the throne which her mother had filled. He said that the Russian nation was dissatisfied with Catharine; that Orloff, in particular, could never forgive her tyranny and ingratitude; and if the young Princess would accept the services of that general, and reward them by the gift of her hand, she would soon behold the explosion of the revolution of which he had laid the train.

Proposals so brilliant ought to have opened the eyes of Princess Tarrakanoff to discern the perfidy of the wretch who made them. But her inexperience and candor prevented all suspicion of foul play. Besides, the language of Alexis Orloff's emissary seemed analogous to the ideas which she had received from Prince Radziwill. She believed herself destined to the throne; and all the chimeras relative to that belief could not but be flattering to her. She abandoned herself therefore to the most delusive hope, and replied in terms of acknowledgment to the man who spoke only to betray.

Some time after, Alexis Orloff made his appearance at Rome. His agent had announced his arrival. He was received as a benefactor. Some persons, however, to whom the Princess and her duenna had communicated the news, of the good fortune which awaited them, cautioned them to be on their guard against the designs of a man whose abandoned character

character had long been notorious, and who, undoubtedly, had too many reasons to persevere in his fidelity to the Empress to think of forming a conspiracy against her. So far from profiting by such counsels, the Princess had the imprudent frankness to talk of them to Orloff, who found no difficulty in justifying himself, and learnt, besides, only to employ more dissimulation and address. Not satisfied with feeding the ambition of the young Russian, he affected a violent passion for her, which quickly inspired her with a very serious one for him. As soon as he was sure of this, he conjured her to unite herself to him by the most sacred of bands. In a most unfortunate moment she yielded consent! and it was even with transport that the ill-fated maiden promised to consummate a marriage which was to accomplish her destruction. She believed that the title of wife to Alexis Orloff would prove an impregnable security against the terrors with which she was haunted. She could not suspect it possible for a man to abuse the sanctions of religion, and ties the most sacred, to pursue an innocent victim to perdition. But was there an obligation of religion, was there a sacredness of engagement that could bind the monster who deluded her? Could the man who strangled the unfortunate Peter III. feel remorse at dishonouring the daughter of Elizabeth? Affecting to wish the marriage ceremony might be celebrated conformably to the ritual of the Greek church, he suborned villains of an inferior order to fill up the parts of priests and lawyers. Thus profanation allied itself to imposture, to overwhelm the feeble and too confident Tarrakoff.

As soon as Orloff had become the husband, or rather the ravisher of this unfortunate Princess, he represented to her that a residence at Rome exposed her too much to observation, and that it would be better for her to retire to some other city of Italy, and wait for the moment when the match was to be applied to

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the conspiracy which was to raise her to the throne. Believing this advice to be dictated by love and prudence, she replied to the perfidious Orloff that she would follow him wherever he pleased to carry her. He immediately conveyed her to Pisa, where he had some time before hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with every mark of tenderness and respect. But he never suffered her to be approached by any but persons in his own pay; and when she went to the theatre or the public walks he always accompanied her himself.

The division of the Russian squadron under the command of rear-admiral Greig, had just returned to the port of Leghorn. On communicating this intelligence to the Princess, Alexis Orloff told her it was necessary for him to repair thither to give orders to the fleet, and made her an offer to be of the party. She consented the more readily that she had frequently heard the beauty of Leghorn and the magnificence of the Russian ships of war highly extolled. Imprudent creature! The nearer she approached the point at which Orloff was to accomplish his horrible purpose, the greater confidence she reposed in the tenderness and sincerity of that traitor.

She left Pisa with her usual retinue. On arriving at Leghorn she alighted at the house of the English consul, Dick, who had prepared apartments for her under his own roof, and received her with every mark of the most profound respect. The ladies of the rear-admiral and of the consul hastened to present themselves to her, and never quitted her more. She beheld herself surrounded by a numerous court, every one vying with another to outrun her slightest wishes, and seeming to have no object but incessantly to procure for her new pleasures. When she went abroad the populace crowded into her way. At the theatre all eyes were directed to her box. Every thing conspired

spired to complete the delusion; every thing kept out of sight the danger ready to burst upon her head.

It is undoubtedly painful to think that a consul, an English admiral, and their wives, could have been so vile, so lost to humanity, as to decoy into the snare, with perfidious homage and caresses, a victim whose youth, beauty, and innocence ought to have melted hearts the most insensible. Every thing proves, nevertheless, that they were associates in the plot contrived to entrap her, and that they practised every art to gain her confidence only to betray her with more certain effect.

The young Tarrakanoff was so far from entertaining any apprehension of her misfortune, that after having passed some days in amusement and dissipation, she herself expressed a desire to visit the Russian squadron. This idea was highly applauded. The necessary orders were immediately issued, and next day, on rising from table, all was prepared on the beach for the reception of the Princess. Thither she went; she was put on board a barge superbly decorated. The consul, his wife, and the wife of rear-admiral Greig took their seats by her. A second barge carried the rear-admiral and Alexis Orloff, and a third, filled with English and Russian officers, closed the procession. The barges left the shore in sight of an innumerable multitude of spectators, and were welcomed by the squadron with bands of music, salutes from the artillery, and repeated huzzás. When the Princess approached the ship on board of which she was to be received, a magnificent accommodation chair was lowered, in which they made her sit down, and hoisted her gently on deck, observing to her, that these were the particular honours paid to her rank.

But scarcely is she on board, when her hands are loaded with irons. To no purpose does she implore compassion from the unrelenting Orloff, whom she
still

still addresses by the name of husband. To no purpose does she throw herself at his feet and bedew them with her tears. The barbarian does not so much as deign to reply. They carry her down to the bottom of the hold. Next day the vessel sails for Russia.

Upon her arrival at Petersburg, the youthful victim was shut up in the fortress, and treated in the most barbarous manner. Six years afterwards the waters of the Neva put a period to her misery: she was drowned in her prison.

The inhabitants of Leghorn, meanwhile, who had seen the Princess embark, soon learnt with horror, that instead of a banquet which she was taught to expect on board the squadron, she had found irons only. Leopold, Grand-duke of Tuscany, whose territorial rights had just been so shamefully violated, wrote immediately to Vienna and to Petersburg, complaining of this outrage. But Alexis Orloff insolently braved both the complaints of Leopold and the indignation of the public.

An adventure in which this ferocious man was concerned during his residence at Rome, serves equally to display his character. One evening that he supped at the house of a noble lady, where a numerous company was assembled, he wished to make an exhibition of his prodigious strength. He crushed with ease in his hand sundry pieces of crystal and iron. He afterwards put an apple between two of his fingers and broke it to shivers. The Duke of Gloucester, brother to the King of Great Britain, was at table; one of the fragments of the apple struck that Prince on the face and hurt him. The whole company expressed much concern at the accident. Alexis Orloff alone discovered no kind of emotion, and did not so much as deign to make the slightest apology to his Royal Highness.

Some of the English degraded themselves so far as to assist in the machinations of Alexis Orloff; but

others were very far from approving his conduct. They even blushed to serve under him, and gave in their resignation. Of this number was Admiral Elphinston. Greig succeeded him.

BOOK VII.

Prince Dolgorouky enters the Crimea—Plague at Moscow—The King of Poland kidnapped—Congress of Polesani—Wassiltschikoff becomes the Favourite of the Empress—Gregory Orloff is banished the Court—Conferences of Bukharest—First dismemberment of Poland—Peace of Kainardgi—Emigration of the Eleuths—Dismissal of Wassiltschikoff—First Marriage of Paul Petrowitz—Diderot at Petersburg.

ALTHOUGH frequently vanquished, the Ottoman armies were easily recruited and resisted the efforts of the Russians. This was a terrible hydra, the heads of which multiplied beneath the strokes of Romanzoff and his lieutenant-generals. The Russian general Weisseman crossed the Danube, and beat the Turks in the neighbourhood of Iaccia. In a short time the Grand-vizir forced him to re-pass the river, and advanced towards Bukharest with an army of 100,000 men. There the Turks were completely victorious. But they had not long to congratulate themselves upon this success. In three successive combats the Russians had again the advantage.

The Grand-vizir retired to the Bulgarian mountains; and Romanzoff, abandoning the right bank of the Danube, took up his winter quarters in Moldavia and Walachia.

The Khan of the Crimea fought valiantly for the Turks. Catharine resolved to avenge herself, and to carry off this aid from her enemy. She had, for a long

long time, correspondents in the Crimea. Her emissaries were labouring in secret to spread division among the Tartars, and to deprive the Khan of the confidence of his subjects. In this they succeeded. Valour soon achieved what intrigue had commenced.

The celebrated lines of Perekop had yielded, forty years before, to the intrepidity of Munich. Instructed by that example, the Khans of the Crimea rendered this passage more difficult. However, neither a ditch of seventy-two feet in breadth and forty-two in depth, nor fifty thousand Tartars, were able to arrest the progress of Prince Dolgorouky. In crossing this barrier, that general rendered himself master of all the Crimea; and, as the reward of his victories, he received from the Empress the surname of Krimiky.

The Khan, obliged to abandon his country that he might not fall into the hands of the conqueror, withdrew into the states of Turkey. Prince Dolgorouky immediately caused a new Khan to be elected, but he too was not yet such as the Russians had occasion for, and it was not long before he detached himself from their party.

The Grand signor, filled with indignation that Abaza Pacha, and some other Turkish commanders, had in a cowardly manner abandoned the Crimea, sent them the fatal bow-string, and ordered their bleeding heads to be exposed at the gate of the seraglio.

The evacuation of the Crimea by the Turkish commanders was not the only act of perfidy of which the Porte had at that time reason to complain. She had just concluded with the court of Vienna a secret treaty, by which that court engaged to take up offensive arms in her behalf, on condition that she would defray the expenses of the war, and restore, upon the return of peace, a part of Walachia and some other Austrian territories which she had conquered. Faithful to these promises, the Porte began by pay-

ing to the court of Vienna five millions of Imperial florins. The court of Vienna turned them to account immediately : but, to the disgrace of the Christian profession, it was to take up arms against the Porte, and form a re-union with Russia.

For some time a terrible scourge had desolated the interior of Russia. Melancholy fruit of the victories of the Russians, the plague had been communicated from Bender to Moscow ; and the ignorance of the physicians, and the superstition of the people, were the causes that it made frightful ravages in that city. The physicians at first believed this malady to be only an epidemic fever ; and the people, who saw that the physicians did not know how to cure it, pursued them from every quarter, and obliged them to conceal themselves in order to escape their fury. Some one pretended that the image of the Virgin, which was at the gate of the Kremlin, possessed the virtue of preventing the contagion. Immediately it was surrounded by multitudes and loaded with offerings. But as a considerable number of persons already infected by the plague mingled themselves in the croud, they communicated the disease to those who as yet had not caught the infection. Ambrose, archbishop of Moscow, perceiving all the danger which might arise from such a concourse, caused the image to be carried away from the place where it was set up : the people became furious, and, accusing the archbishop of inhumanity, of sacrilege, and even of wishing to appropriate to himself the revenues of the Virgin, they broke open the doors of a monastery in which this prelate had sought an asylum. The archbishop upon this imagined that he might escape the rage of the multitude by concealing himself in the sanctuary, where, according to the Greek ritual, the priests alone have permission to enter. Unfortunately a child saw him pass, and hastened to give information of it. The people rushed into the church, laid hold of the old man, and dragged him

him to the door to dispatch him. The wretched archbishop, perceiving death to be inevitable, conjured his assassins to permit him to ascend to the altar, to receive the communion once more. They consented to this, and calmly beheld him conclude his pious ceremony. Scarcely had he finished when they darted upon him anew, dragged him to the outside of the church, and barbarously massacred him.

The Empress had already sent proper assistance to arrest the progress of the contagion; but it was not of the smallest avail. It was necessary to employ a man whose authority could restrain the people, and subject them to precautions and to cleanliness, but little observed in Russia. Gregory Orloff had the courage to go and brave at once the plague and superstition. He repaired to Moscow with an extraordinary promptitude. He prohibited and prevented every kind of assembly. He visited himself the persons attacked by the pestilence; he procured them the assistance of which they stood in need; and was careful, above all things, to recommend to the surgeons and the officers by whom he was seconded, to cause to be burnt in their presence the apparel of those patients who fell victims to this terrible scourge. The disease at last yielded to the multiplied exertions of Gregory Orloff, and to the severity of winter. But it had already carried off near 100,000 of the inhabitants of Moscow.

On his return to Petersburg, Gregory Orloff found again in Catharine an affectionate lover and a grateful sovereign. That Princess caused a triumphal arch to be erected, and a medal to be struck, to record to posterity the service which he had just rendered to his country.

The plague had not confined its attacks to the interior of Russia; the Russian and Ottoman armies which fought upon the banks of the Danube were infected with it. They spread it in Poland; and it

is this which accelerated the invasion which the King of Prussia had for a long time meditated.

The Empress was daily adding to the heavy yoke which she had imposed on Poland. Her troops pursued on every side the confederates of Bar, and pillaged or destroyed their possessions. That Princess herself had a share in the booty. The famous library of Prince Radziwill was carried off, the precious deposit of Lithuanian history, and was transported to Petersburg, from whence, without doubt, it will come no more. But at the very time that this detestable robbery was carrying on, Catharine sent to Warsaw declarations, in which she spoke of nothing but her equity, her benevolence, and the inclination she had to restore peace to Poland.

The Poles, irritated at the tyranny of the Russians, were incessantly making new efforts to free themselves from it. They believed their unfortunate king was in league with the Empress, and in this persuasion were desirous of avenging upon him the evils of which she was the cause. The confederates had elected for general a noble Polonaise, named Pulawsky, an intrepid man, and so violent for liberty, that he did not hesitate to promote, even by crimes, the most honourable of causes.

Pulawsky, resolved to take possession of the person of the King, confided the execution of his project to three other confederates, with whose intelligence and audacity he was well acquainted. After having taken an oath, with their hands between those of their general, to deliver the King to him, or to kill him if they could not bring him alive, the three chiefs and fifty dragoons, disguised as peasants, entered by different quarters into Warsaw. They learnt, that the Sunday following the King was to pass the evening at the house of the Prince Czartorynski, his uncle. Upon this some of them went to post themselves without the city, whilst the rest lay in ambuscade on the passage of the King. Towards ten o'clock at night
this

this Prince, accompanied by fourteen or fifteen persons, and having one of his aids-de-camp in the carriage with him, was returning to the palace, when all at once the conspirators advanced, and ordered the coachman to stop. Several pistols were at the same time fired off against the carriage. A hesperus fell pierced by a ball. The rest of the King's suite, not even excepting his aid-de-camp, took to flight. One of the assassins fired a pistol shot at the King, which penetrated his hat; another made a blow at his head, and made a deep wound. Afterwards they seized him by the collar, and dragged him between their horses through the most obscure streets. Perceiving very soon that he lost breath, and that it was impossible for him to follow them on foot, they made him mount on horseback; and when they were on the brink of the *fossé* which surrounds Warsaw, they obliged him to cross it with them. The horse, which carried the King fell and broke his leg: the King was wounded in the foot. Another horse was given to him. One of the chiefs tore from him the Prussian order of the Black Eagle, and the diamond cross which was fastened to it. Then the greater part of the conspirators dispersed. Seven only of them, under the command of Kozinsky, remained with the King, and wandered a long time with him in the dark, endeavouring to avoid every frequented road. In a short time they found themselves in a forest, which is not above a league distant from Warsaw. The voices of some Russian patrols were heard. The conspirators were frightened, and betook themselves to flight. The King remained alone with Kozinsky. But not daring to call for assistance for fear that Kozinsky should kill him, he tried to persuade him to favour his escape. Kozinsky hesitated for a long time: his oath deterred him. At last he yielded to the solicitations of the King; and, after having thrown himself upon his knees to demand his pardon, he conducted him to a mill which was but at a little

distance. The King, without making himself known, immediately wrote a billet, which he conveyed by a peasant to the colonel of his guards.

Warsaw was in the utmost consternation. The King's hat had been found all covered with blood. That Prince was believed to be dead. But as soon as it was understood that he had escaped from his assassins, the people abandoned themselves to transports of joy.

Several of the villains were taken, and perished on the scaffold. Kozinsky obtained his pardon. He withdrew into Italy, where the King granted him a pension. With respect to General Pulawsky, he published a manifesto, in which he declared that he had no hand in the outrage committed upon the Polish monarch. No person put any faith in this declaration.

The danger which Stanislaus-Augustus had run, furnished the Russians with a fresh pretext for persecuting the confederates of Bar, and for making preparations towards the dismemberment of Poland. But had Catharine any occasion for pretexts? We shall presently see that she had arranged matters in such a manner as to be able to do without them.

A. D. 1772. The Russians and Ottomans stood equally in need of peace. Their armies, enfeebled by engagements innumerable, by fatigue and by contagion, constantly recruited themselves, and became constantly more diminished. The squadron of Alexis Orloff still dominated over the seas of Greece; but the long residence of the Russians in a climate so different from their own, and the excesses to which they abandoned themselves, occasioned an epidemic distemper among them, which threatened to sweep them away even to the last seaman of their crews. The new Capitan-Pacha, Gazi Hassan, zealous to avenge the disasters of his marine, was preparing new armaments at Constantinople, and flattered himself with the hope of being able to oppose to the Russians.

fians a squadron more formidable than that which the flames had devoured. The chevalier de Tott, a French officer in the service of the Porte, triumphed in the ignorance of the Turks, and had introduced into their arsenals an order and an activity which was dangerous to their enemies. The valiant Mussim-Oglou was elevated for the second time to the post of Grand-vizir, and had re-assumed the command of the army of the Danube. Notwithstanding this the two powers negotiated, through the medium of the ministers of Austria and Prussia. An armistice was agreed upon, and a congress was appointed at Fokani.

- This occasion appeared favourable to the projects of Gregory Orloff. He made interest to obtain the honour of going to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the Divan. It had long been his wish to be a partaker of the throne which he had secured to Catharine. He believed, that in giving peace to the Russians, he should acquire eternal claims upon their gratitude, and do away the difficulties which had been opposed to his marriage: but this was precisely what gave birth to others more unfurmourtable.

Catharine had been greatly attached to Orloff and loved him still. Orloff, on the contrary, had never been attached to Catharine but from complaisance and ambition. For a long time puffed up with the favours of his sovereign, he displayed a zeal to merit them: but when he thought he had acquired sufficient rights over her, his zeal cooled, and those favours even seemed to be frequently burdensome to him. The greater efforts Catharine made to allure him back to her, the more he appeared eager to avoid her, and to seek elsewhere charms which he no longer found in her. That Princess was mortified at the coldness of an ingrate; and provoked at his infidelities. But she was still attached to him by such powerful ties, that she durst not think of breaking them asunder. Bobrinsky, above all, rendered the
love

love of Orloff dear to her. She had him brought up in the house of the chamberlain Schkourin, and went frequently to see him under a borrowed name, and disguised in such a manner as not to be recognized.

One day that she had just quitted this child, and was meditating how to cure Orloff of his inconstancy, she thought she had discovered a method, by espousing him privately. She made him the proposition. Orloff rejected it in a haughty manner. He replied to the Empress, that he did not think himself unworthy of bearing publicly the name of her husband, and of seating himself with her on a throne which he had preserved to her. Catharine, in astonishment, dissembled her displeasure; but discerned immediately that the pride of her favourite might be productive of fatal consequences to her; and did not delay overcoming an attachment which exposed her to too great humiliation.

Although Panin did not live on open terms of disagreement with Gregory Orloff, he did not the less wish for the disgrace of that favourite. Too skillful, and without doubt too timid, to make a direct attack upon him, he did not let slip an opportunity of giving him an under-hand blow. Orloff was far from following his example. He bore but little enmity, though a great deal was borne towards him. His haughtiness had created him a great number of adversaries, his favour had raised him many more. Every one was pleased to see him withdraw from court, and the Empress shared the joy of her courtiers. She hoped that his absence would completely destroy the remainder of the ascendant which he had preserved over her.

Panin, who carefully watched the inclinations of that Princess, was not slow of perceiving that she frequently regarded with complacency a sub-lieutenant of the guards, named Waffitchikoff. He immediately conceived the idea of making this young man

man serve as an instrument for effecting the ruin of Orloff. Zakar Tschernisheff, to whom the arrogance of the favourite was still more odious than to Panin, seconded with joy the project of this minister. Both the one and the other thought that the Grand-duke, who was not ignorant that Orloff had presumed to aspire to the throne, could not but behold with satisfaction every thing which had a tendency to keep him at a distance from it. An attempt was therefore made to stimulate the new propensity of the Empress. Orloff was at the same time represented to her as an ambitious man, who desired to go and negotiate the peace at Fokani, only in order to betray Russia and to become independent, in assuming the sovereignty of Moldavia and Walachia. It was so much the more easy to render him suspected by that Princess, that every succeeding day she found his rival more to her taste.

Wassiltchikoff pleased her, because he was young and robust, but he was deficient in understanding, in talents, in experience, even in personal courage. It is probable that he would never from his own merit have succeeded with the Empress. He was not left without support. The Prince Baratynsky, versed in the art of intrigue, was not sparing either of his counsels or of his exertions. Wassiltchikoff profited by them. His docility supplied the place of merit. The Empress was so well pleased with him, that she nominated him her chamberlain, made him magnificent presents, and frequently treated him in public with a familiarity which rendered it very easy to perceive their good understanding.

When Catharine had proposed to the haughty Orloff to espouse him in private, this favourite flattered himself that his refusal would only stimulate the desire of that Princess, and that access to the throne would become by that means more easy. Accustomed to a love, of which he had the most endearing pledges, he did not believe it possible he could
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lose the heart of the Empress. What then must have been his thoughts when he learnt that she had availed herself of his absence to chuse a new lover? He at first trembled with astonishment and rage. But pride soon came to his consolation. He imagined that his presence would be sufficient to rekindle a flame which he believed but ill extinguished. Full of this idea, he forgot negotiations, peace, all the interests of the empire, departed from Fokani without even demanding permission of the Empress, and arrived at the gates of Petersburg. At the instant he presented himself, the officer of the guard advanced towards his carriage, and shewed him the order which he had, not to permit him to enter the capital. Orloff observed a profound silence, and took the road to Gatschina, one of his country residences.

Only two days before Orloff arrived at Petersburg, intelligence had been received that he had quitted Fokani. This sudden return caused great uneasiness at court. The Empress, who was well acquainted with the impetuosity of Orloff, and who apprehended that he might present himself in spite of her, gave orders that the guard of the palace should be doubled, and that sentinels should be placed at the door of her new favourite. Not yet quieted by these precautions, she caused the locks of her apartments to be changed, of which Orloff had the key. All these arrangements were unnecessary: Orloff should not have inspired a single apprehension. As soon as his disgrace was known he had no longer any partisans, and his enemies discovered themselves from every quarter.

Orloff perceived all the danger of his situation. His courage was not however shaken. It is even pretended that he then made Pugatscheff take up arms, who had been long devoted to him, and whom he had prepared for rebellion, to render himself more necessary to Catharine; and to oblige her to espouse him. However this might be, when the Count Zakar

kar Tschernisheff came, in the name of the Empress, to demand of him the resignation of his employments, he insolently refused it. That Princess might easily have punished the subject who resisted her will; she preferred treating with indulgence the lover whom she had long cherished. A negotiation was carried on with Orloff. Overcome by the indulgence which his sovereign still deigned to display towards him, he consented to withdraw from Peterburgh, and to go and travel for some time through Europe. As the price of his submission, he received 100,000 roubles in ready money; a warrant for a pension of 150,000, a magnificent present of plate, and an estate with 6000 peasants. He had already obtained a patent of Prince of the Empire. It was Catharine's wish that he should take the title, without doubt, that her ancient lover might appear in the eyes of foreign nations with a lustre worthy of the favour which he had enjoyed.

The part which Catharine acted seemed to announce some weakness: but it was conformable to her character. That Princess, whose soul was so steadfast and stately, knew how to condescend when her interest required it. She felt that, in punishing Orloff, she would intimidate all those who had served him. She wished to persuade them that her gratitude survived even her affections.

The congress of Fokani had been opened in such a manner as to inspire the hope of an approaching peace. The Ottoman ministers presented to the Russians some superb carpets, extremely fine stuffs, and some excellent arms; and Osman Effendi, who was the first to speak, said, "That the Grand-signor, his master, had recommended to him to serve God and to love peace."

The Russians gave as presents to Osman and his colleagues some precious stones elegantly set, divers golden toys, and some very beautiful furs. Afterwards they replied, that they likewise were lovers
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both of peace and of justice. They nevertheless demanded such enormous sacrifices that the Turks were disgusted. After discussing some useless propositions the plenipotentiaries separated.

Some time afterwards the negotiations recommenced at Bukharest, between Maréchal Romanzoff and the Grand-vizir Mussüm Oglou. These two warriors, who had so frequently combated against each other, were not ignorant how much their armies had occasion for repose, but their conferences were equally fruitless with those of Fokani. The term of the armistice was expired. The peace-makers thought of nothing now but war.

During the whole time of the negotiations preparation had been made for battle. The Russians had concluded with the new Khan of the Crimea a treaty, by which this Prince declared himself independent of the Grand-signor, and put himself under the protection of the Empress. The Porte, in indignation at the defection of the Tartars, as well as at the cession which they had made to the Russians of the fortresses of Kertsch and Jeni-kalé, sent into the Black Sea a strong squadron of galliots and chebecs. The Empress had already there a fleet of frigates, and sent to join it several English and Dutch officers, under the command of Admiral Sinawin.

But a more important object occupied Catharine at this moment. She beheld herself at last on the point of reaping the fruit of the disturbances and the divisions which she had disseminated amongst the Poles. It has been already seen, that for a long time, in concert with the King of Prussia, she left to this Prince the care of procuring the consent of the court of Vienna to the dismemberment of Poland. She was besides very sure, that she would have but few obstacles to overcome on the part of other powers. France had then a minister who possessed but little foresight. England was attached to Russia by her commerce. The states adjoining to the Baltic might have

have reason to be jealous at seeing the Russians and the Prussians take possession of ports upon that sea, but not one of them had the means nor the temerity to make any opposition. The Ottomans, were they more to be dreaded? Were they in a condition to give any assistance to Poland, when they so little understood how to defend themselves, and when they beheld themselves attacked in every quarter of their vast empire? Finally, Catharine had nothing to apprehend but a refusal from the court of Vienna. Frederick promised her the acquiescence of this court.

That Prince had it in his power, without running any risk, to make such a promise. He had long been acquainted, from the report of his ministers, with the character of the heir of the house of Austria.

When, in 1769, Joseph II. had an interview with him at Neiss in Silesia, the Prussian monarch, profiting by the ascendant which he derived from his experience and his glory, proposed to the young Emperor the first partition of Poland. Joseph II. flattered with the hope of extending his dominions, listened with joy to the project of the King of Prussia; but he would not promise to give his consent before he had consulted with the old Prince Kaunitz, whose counsels directed him. Kaunitz applauded the plundering project. Some time after the two monarchs had a second interview at Neustadt, in Austria, and the dismemberment of Poland was resolved upon.

The plague which ravaged the frontiers of Poland had, the preceding year, furnished the King of Prussia with an opportunity of ordering his troops to advance up to Polish Prussia. The Emperor had the same pretext for causing his to enter into the provinces most conveniently situated for him.

It appeared to have been the duty of Joseph II. to give assistance to the confederates of Bar. The last treaty obliged him even to unite himself with the Turks against the Russians. But this Prince had to-
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tally different designs, and knew so well how to dissimulate, that the confederates, deceived by his promises, regarded a long time as their defenders the soldiers who had come to invade their country.

Foreign armies extended themselves from one end of Poland to the other, and equally acted against the confederates, who were very soon obliged to disperse. The greatest number retired to their fire-sides: the rest went to carry into foreign nations their complaints and their misfortunes.

All Europe had their eyes fixed on Poland. It was not possible to imagine why three formidable powers should invade, at a time of profound peace, a country, the independence of which had been guaranteed by the most solemn treaties. It was likewise a subject of wonder, what could be the object of the incessant negotiations which occupied those powers. At last it was discovered. The minister of the Emperor was the first who notified the treaty of Peterburgh to the King and senate of Poland. The ambassador of Russia and the envoy of Prussia presented to them, almost at the same instant, declarations in support of this treaty.

The Polonese, fired with indignation, loudly complained of this injustice. They again claimed the intervention of the powers which had become guarantees to the treaty of Oliva, a treaty which had assured to them the indivisibility of their territory, and which had long been regarded as the grand charter of the north. Some few of those powers made representations, of as little avail as the complaints of the Poles. Not satisfied with having already put themselves in possession of part of the provinces of Poland, the three plundering courts demanded that a diet should solemnly make a cession of these provinces to them.

A. D. 1773. The diet was immediately convoked and assembled. Promises and money were lavished in order to gain the deputies. However, the majority of the diet for a long time refused to give consent

sent to the dismemberment. Irritated at a resistance of which they had not the least expectation, the ministers of the three courts threatened the diet with all the displeasure of their sovereigns. They said that they would cause the King to be arrested and deposed: and their emissaries secretly spread a report, that if the diet did not yield, Warsaw would be delivered up to pillage. By dint of manœuvring, they at last succeeded in extorting a consent from the diet, which at the same time passed a decree, to restrict to a very few days the period of their sittings, and they named commissaries to determine, with the ministers of the three courts, the conditions of the partition. There is good reason to believe that these conditions were dictated by the ministers. They were signed in the month of September following.

Some nobles of the invaded provinces presumed to exclaim against the treaty, and to publish manifestoes. But of what avail were these isolated exclamations in opposition to numerous armies?

Before the convocation of the diet, and through its whole duration, the King had openly declared against the partition. It was nevertheless pretended that he secretly favoured it, and the persons who were acquainted with his ancient devotedness to Russia could not persuade themselves that he ever would renounce it.

As soon as the accession to the treaty of partition was voted, several of the principal members of the diet hastened to the King, and bitterly reproached him with the ruin of their country. That Prince at first replied to them with gentleness; but, soon perceiving that his moderation only served to embolden them, and to render them more unjust, he arose, threw his hat on the ground, and said to them haughtily:—"Gentlemen, I am weary of listening to you. The partition of our miserable country is a consequence of your ambition, of your dissensions, of your eternal disputes. To yourselves alone you
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"ought to attribute your misfortunes. With respect to myself, if no greater portion of land remained to me than this hat could cover, I should still be, notwithstanding, in the eyes of all Europe, your lawful but unfortunate king."

The dismemberment of Poland deprived her of more than five millions of inhabitants. The country which fell to the lot of Russia, and which was the most extensive, contained 1,800,000; that of Austria, two millions and a half, on a much smaller extent of territory. Prussia acquired only 860,000 souls, but she was recompensed by the commerce and the vicinity of the Vistula, and of the city of Dantzick, of which Frederick had already formed the project of making himself master.

The three courts which had thus appropriated to themselves the spoils of Poland, meditated at the same time a plan to put it for ever out of her power to recover what they had just ravished from her. However dangerous the form of her government was, they wished to render it still worse. They caused to be granted to the commissaries of the diet full powers for co-operating, in conjunction with them or their ministers, towards the alterations which the constitution of the republic required, and, under the specious pretext of correcting defects, grievously aggravated them.

After several lengthened-out conferences a new diet was assembled, in which the ministers of the three courts proposed their plan of reform. The diet was more tumultuous and more indocile than that which had preceded it; and, notwithstanding the influence of the Russian minister, who caused to be read by his secretary the new plan of the constitution, this plan was at first rejected. It is too curious not to be inserted in this place, at least the basis of it, as well as the preamble of the insidious memorial which the ministers of the three courts presented at the same time.

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“ The courts are so deeply interested in the pacification of Poland, that whilst they are occupied in putting the treaties in a train to be signed and ratified, their ministers think it their duty not to lose an instant of that precious interval to re-establish order and tranquillity in this kingdom. We are therefore going to communicate to the commission a part of those fundamental laws, to the acceptance of which our courts will not permit the slightest obstacle to be opposed, nor the appearance of retardation.

“ 1st. The crown of Poland shall be elective *to perpetuity*, and all order of succession shall be prohibited. Every person who makes an attempt to infringe this law shall be declared the enemy of the country, and be prosecuted accordingly.

“ 2d. Foreigners who may aspire to the throne, occasioning most frequently divisions and disturbances, shall be from henceforth excluded, and a law shall be passed, that for the future no one but a Polonese by descent, born a gentleman, can be elected King of Poland and Grand-duke of Lithuania. The son or grandson of a king not to be elected immediately after the death of his father or grandfather, and rendered incapable of being chosen till after the interval of two reigns.

“ 3d. The government of Poland shall be, and shall continue to perpetuity, a free government, independent, and in form of a republic.

“ 4th. The true principles of this government consisting in a strict observance of the laws, and in the equilibrium of the three orders: to wit, the king, the senate and the noblesse, a permanent council shall be established, to which the executive power shall be delegated. Into this council shall be admitted persons of the order of nobility who had been hitherto excluded from the administration of affairs in the interval of diets,” &c.

By these laws the house of Saxony, and the other foreign princes who might have preserved the integrity of the remainder of Poland, were excluded from the throne; the *liberum veto*, with the other dangerous privileges of the noblesse, were re-established, and every disorder perpetuated.

Stackelberg was still the ambassador of Catharine at Warsaw. More pliable than Repnin, he had an equal degree of haughtiness with him, and not less of a spirit of intrigue. By dint of address and corruption he gained the majority of the deputies, and the diet approved the new form of government. This perverted government, established by Russia, Austria and Prussia, seemed to have a title to be supported by these powers: but they were not slow of taking advantage of its vices to produce its annihilation.

Whilst Catharine was acquiring, by means of negotiation, a part of the provinces of Poland, her armies were continuing to ravage the frontiers of Turkey. Fortune was not however always favourable to them. Fourteen thousand Russians, who attempted to pass the Danube at Giorgesfn, allowed themselves to be surprised by Daghestan-Ali-Pacha, and six hundred of them remained prisoners with the Turks. The young Prince Repnin was of this number. He was carried to Constantinople, and confined in the castle of the seven towers. An Englishman, named Elliot, who was in the Russian service, distinguished himself at Giorgesfn in an extraordinary manner. He vaulted with as much agility as boldness over the head and the sabres of the Spahis, and fell into the river, which he crossed by swimming.

Mareschal Romanzoff crossed the Danube, and marched straightway to Silistria. Four-score thousand Turks were encamped upon a neighbouring height. General Weisséman attacked them; they shut themselves up in the city. Romanzoff presented himself the next day. The Grand-vizir had detached

tached from his army 50,000 men to go to the relief of Silistria. Romanzoff made his retreat during the night; but was harassed by the Turks, who killed a considerable number of his men. Obligated to re-pass the Danube, this general went to encamp near Zabolnitz in Walachia.

The Grand-vizir occupied the left bank of the Danube. A detachment of his army defeated a considerable body of Russians at Roskana. These inferior engagements issued frequently in favour of the Ottomans.

Displeased at beholding that her armies were not acquiring any new victory, Catharine sent orders to Marechal Romanzoff to inform her why he did not give battle. This general replied, that it was because the army of the Grand-vizir was three times more numerous than his, and that he might very well turn this superiority to good account. Catharine immediately wrote to him:—"The Romans never engaged into the number of their enemies, but where they were, in order to engage them."

A. D. 1774. Mustapha III. died, and Abd-UL-Hamid his brother, ascended the throne of Constantinople. The concluding years of the reign of Mustapha had been marked by several bloody disasters. His successor endeavoured to restore the splendor of the Ottoman glory. He made immense preparations for the campaign which was going to open. The Turkish armies were again raised to the number of 400,000 fighting men.

Marechal Romanzoff likewise received considerable reinforcements. He resolved once more to cross the Danube and advance to attack the Turks. They valiantly disputed the passage with him; but their efforts were vain. General Soltikoff was the first who gained the opposite shore. Souwaroff and Kamenskoi followed him closely. The Turks were driven back. Romanzoff in a short time pitched his camp at the gates of Silistria.

A few days afterward the Turks made an attack upon Soltikoff. They were to the number of 25,000, and fought for a long time with the utmost intrepidity : but they were constrained to yield to the skill and courage of the Russians.

The same day Kamenskoï and Souwaroff beat the Reis-Effendi, who was at the head of 40,000 Turks, and carried off his artillery.

All these reverses of fortune rendered the Ottomans desperate. With them disorder and revolt are almost uniformly the consequences of a defeat. The troops of the army of the Grand-vizir cut each other's throats, or deserted in considerable detachments. This general was encamped at Schumla, and found himself at a great distance from the other corps of the Turkish army. Romanzoff, who observed the disadvantage of that position, so completely surrounded the camp of the Vizir that he cut off from him all means of communication, not only with his detached corps but likewise with his magazines. The Vizir, therefore, not having it in his power to receive assistance, to retire, or to engage, determined to sue for peace.

The plenipotentiaries assembled immediately at Koudjouk-Kaïnardgi. The Russians persisted in the demands which they had made at the last congress : The Turks acceded to them ; and the preliminaries of the treaty were signed upon a drum by Marschal Romanzoff and the Kiaya of the Grand-vizir ; for, in order to avoid appearing again in the presence of his conqueror, the haughty Mussum-Oglou feigned indisposition. By this treaty Russia obtained a free navigation on the Black Sea, and upon all the Ottoman seas, as well as the passage by the channel of the Dardanelles ; on this condition, however, that they should never have in the seas of Constantinople more than one armed vessel. She preserved Azoph, Tagán-rok, Kinburn, and gave up the rest of her conquests. The independence of the Crimea was one of the principal

cial clauses of the treaty, and that which cost the Turks most dear. Undoubtedly they were far from being acquainted with all the policy of Catharine, but seemed to have a presentiment that she wished to see the Crimea independent, only the better to reduce it to slavery.

Catharine had then the two-fold advantage of augmenting her own power and of weakening her enemy. The commerce of the Black Sea, and of the ports of the Levant, opened to her a source of immense riches. The protection which she granted to the Tartars furnished her with the means of causing divisions among them, and of conquering their country. The acquisition of the Polish Ukraine put her in a condition, with still greater facility, to carry on the war on the Danube, to make the Ottoman empire tremble, and to consummate the ruin of Poland. The discipline established among the kosaks added to her armies a formidable cavalry. The correspondence which she kept up in the islands of the Archipelago, and in Walachia and Moldavia, became to the Turks an eternal source of trouble and inquietude. In a word, the Empress beheld her influence and her glory extending far and wide.

The better to secure this advantage, she did not cease to recompense her generals with magnificence, and her bounty extended, in all the countries of Europe, to the learned men and the artists who enjoyed any portion of celebrity. Even in the heat of the war, libraries, collections of pictures, beautiful statues, and valuable monuments of antiquity, were conveyed at a vast expence to enrich Peterburgh, and one of the most beautiful diamonds in the world was added to the Imperial crown.

But whilst Catharine appeared to enjoy the height of prosperity, the most serious calamities were desolating the interior parts of her empire. Her finances were sadly deranged. She received assistance from the English only by granting to their commerce im-

menſe advantages. The plague had made frightful ravages at Moſcow and in the adjacent countries. That horrible diſeaſe for a long time conſumed the Ruſſian armies; the fleet of the Archipelago was not exempted from it. The revolt waſting the provinces of Kaſan, of Aſtrakan, of Orenburgh, threatened Moſcow, and continual emigrations changed commercial countries into deſerts.

That emigration calls upon us here to pauſe a while to reflect upon it. It develops the character of a nation little known, and diſplays with what injuſtice, and what barbarity Ruſſian commanders preſume to treat free and peaceable men. A horde of 600,000 Tourgouths paſtured their numerous flocks in the plains which are watered by the Volga, between the provinces of Aſtrakan and of Kaſan. The governor of Aſtrakan gave to a lieutenant, named Kiſchenſkoï, the office of overſeer to theſe Tourgouths, Kiſchenſkoï, a man extremely covetous, inſenſibly made himſelf maſter of a conſiderable part of their flocks, and ſold them for his own profit. His extorſions in a ſhort time procured him an immenſe fortune. But his avarice was not on this account diminiſhed; it ſeemed, on the contrary, to increaſe in proportion as he acquired the means of ſatiſfying it.

The Khan of the Tourgouths was a venerable old man, who had ſhed his blood in the ſervice of Ruſſia. The Empreſs gave him, as a recompenſe, her portrait, in a large medal ſurrounded with brilliants, and the Khan wore it ſuſpended from his neck. One day Kiſchenſkoï, who had already received ſeveral preſents from the Khan, preſumed to demand more. The old man, in indignation, could not refrain from reproaching him with his injuſtice, and with all the grievous methods he employed to ruin the unfortunate Tourgouths. Kiſchenſkoï, who was offended by the truth of theſe reproaches, had the audacity to give the Khan a box on the ear; and having at the ſame time ordered his ſoldiers to arreſt the miniſter
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of this prince, he caused the punishment of the battoes to be inflicted on him.

The Khan immediately dispatched some of the principal Tourgouths to carry his complaints to Petersburg. The minister of war, Zakar Tschernisheff, who protected Kischenskoi, scarcely deigned to listen to these messengers.

The Tourgouths had submitted to the rapacity and the plunder of the Russian officer, but they could not endure either the contempt with which he had presumed to treat their Khan, nor the injustice of the court of Russia. The priests and the ancients of the horde, having held a council, resolved to abandon the territory of the Russian empire, and to retire to the foot of the mountains of Thibet, the country of their ancestors. The secret was so well kept that two days had already elapsed since the Tourgouths had taken to flight, and had carried off a small Russian detachment, before the other Russians discovered it. Three regiments were fruitlessly sent in pursuit of them. The Tourgouths employed greater diligence than they did, and had besides preceded them by two days. These regiments wandered for a long time in the deserts, where a part of the soldiers perished.

When the court of Petersburg received intelligence of the emigration of the Tourgouths, a council of war was nominated to examine into the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Kischenskoi, and bring him to his trial. But this council was guilty of great negligence in the prosecution of the inquiry. Kischenskoi employed a part of his plunder in procuring himself friends at court, or in corrupting his judges; and, to the great scandal of the principal part of the Russians, this man, who had lost to his country 600,000 inhabitants, was recompensed for it by the title of Colonel.

Catharine re-demanded the Tourgouths from the Emperor of China. This monarch replied, "That he was neither so unjust a prince as to deliver his subjects

" subjects up to foreigners, nor a father so cruel as to banish his children who had returned into the bosom of their family ; that he had not been informed of the project of the Tourgouths till the moment of their arrival, and that then he had hastened to restore to them the habitations which belonged to them from the remotest antiquity ; that, finally, the Empress had no reason to complain of the Tourgouths, but much reason to do so of the officer, who had dared to lift his hand to the face of a Khan, and to order the battoges to be inflicted on his minister."

Amidst the great interests which occupied her, the court of Peterburgh was not neglectful of petty intrigues. Amidst the cares which the government required, Catharine did not renounce her pleasures. She frequently passed from the council to the ball-room and to the theatre, and from the most important sittings of the senate to the most frivolous amusements. She gave audience to the ambassadors of foreign powers, without having occasion to make greater preparations than she made for the reception of her courtiers, and she dictated a law with the same facility as a billet-doux. Tranquil in her new amours, she never spoke of those which had preceded them. Panin, Tchernischeff, Baratinisky, applauded themselves for what they had achieved.

But that which gave them the greatest tranquillity was the banishment of Gregory Orloff. For almost five months he had been travelling in foreign countries. His enemies flattered themselves that he would continue to do so for two years at least. The emissaries whom they had appointed to watch his motions, frequently gave them information of his route. He was believed to be in Holland. It was imagined that he would make the tour of England, France, Italy. All at once he re-appeared at the court of Peterburgh. The Empress refused to admit him into her presence. She sent him an order to go to Revel. But she sent him

him at the same time very considerable presents, and lavished honours and caresses on the most intimate friends of that ancient favourite.

What then could be the motive of this conduct? Catharine no longer loved Orloff; she no longer feared him; but she dreaded, she detested a faction which, she believed, must of necessity be formed, under covert of a name dear to the empire, and formidable to Orloff, that of the Grand-duke. She wished to oppose the party of her ancient favourite to this faction, and to shelter herself under the protection of a man who had already so ably defended her. Triumphant over her enemies, the admiration of Europe, idolized by her courtiers, that Princess was frequently a prey to the most lively uneasiness; but she concealed it carefully. She apprehended the possibility of seeing herself precipitated from the throne, and she formed the project of further aggrandizing her estates. She knew that her life was fought for, and she spoke with gaiety of the long career which she hoped to run. Accustomed to pass several hours a day in her closet alone, employed in reading or writing, she once found there a billet, in which she was threatened with assassination: never did she display greater confidence and tranquillity.

Covetous of every sort of glory, she knew how to lay herself under restraint incessantly in order to obtain it. She was deceitful, vindictive, ungrateful: she was believed to be sincere, merciful, generous. The blood of the unfortunate Ivan still smoked, when Catharine appeared touched with the hard fate of the family of that Prince. Duke Anthony-Ulric of Brunswick, and the regent Anne his wife, had, after Ivan, two sons and two daughters, who were born in prison. The regent Anne died in child-bed. Duke Anthony-Ulric, and the four children who remained to him, after having been dragged from dungeon to dungeon, lived in confinement in a convent at Kolmogor, a little town situated at the distance of twelve or fifteen leagues

leagues from Archangel. Certain that she had nothing to apprehend from the Duke, Catharine made him an offer of his liberty, with the means of retiring into Germany. This Prince refused. "Why," replied he, "should I quit the Russian empire to publish the excess of my misfortunes, and to excite unprofitable compassion?"

For a long time past Waffiltchikoff had occupied the place of favourite. As he did not abuse his credit either to accumulate immense treasures, or to injure his rivals, he excited not the least envy. The Empress frequently praised his moderation, and that quality, so rare in a courtier, appeared to render him every day more dear to her. But all at once he ceased to please. At a moment when he had just been receiving proofs of her tenderness, he received an order to take his departure for Moscow. He obeyed. Some new presents from the Empress accompanied him; but this was only a customary recompense; the heart had no share in it.

Whether it was that Orloff had been secretly recalled from Revel, or whether his abode in that city was unsupportable to him, he once more made his appearance at court. The Empress did not punish him for it; she received him, on the contrary, with an appearance of satisfaction. Proud of this reception, and of the recollection of his past favour, still reckoning upon the devotedness of his creatures, who were in great numbers, he thought it possible to recover his honours and his credit. Whilst he enjoyed them, he had frequently appeared to despise them. As soon as he was deprived of them, he felt that they were necessary to him. Orloff, born in the obscurity, and brought up in the licentiousness, of barracks, found himself all at once borne by fortune to a point of elevation which, in augmenting his natural haughtiness, had neither altered his inclinations nor polished his manners. Eleven years passed in the society of the Empress, in all the refinements of luxury and

and voluptuousness, did not prevent him from braving the inclemencies of seasons, from exposing himself to the most severe fatigues, and from pursuing the most vulgar pleasures. From the time that he no longer occupied the place of favourite, he remained possessor of a revenue of 260,000 roubles, and a personal estate of 300,000. Instead of keeping his household with grandeur, with magnificence, he led the life of an officer in garrison. With the means of having a table served with every delicacy, he ate almost always with the officers of the court, whose repasts were but very indifferent. He was not more difficult in his amours. He tendered his caresses, without distinction, to a gross Finlander, a wild Kalmuck, or to the prettiest woman in Petersburg.

Jealous of the authority which his rivals enjoyed, and contemplating with envy the throne upon which he had so long flattered himself that he should be seated, Orloff demanded his re-establishment in the exercise of his employments, and that Panin, whom he accused of being the first author of his disgrace, should be exiled. Orloff seemed, at this moment, to have recovered all his ascendancy over the heart of Catharine. She exhibited herself in his eyes with all the weakness of the most tender lover. She did not hesitate to restore him to his offices. She refused, however, to banish Panin, and contented herself with promising that she would dismiss him from court as soon as the Grand-duke was married.

Panin was extremely grieved at seeing Orloff established in his employments; but he could impute it to himself alone, as he had done nothing to prevent it. Rejoiced at the fortune and the consequence which he enjoyed, living in indolence in the midst of business, seeking a tranquil society in the tumult of a court, he gave himself up only by fits to running down his rivals, and, with greater ability than they possessed, he frequently saw them triumph.

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“Count Panin is a poor man,” said a courtier who had long studied his character; “he loves nothing but ease and retirement. You become his friend whenever you put on the appearance of laughing at his bons mots, and furnish him with an opportunity of exerting his talents for detraction. He laughs himself then with all his heart, and forgets the affairs of state, dispatches, couriers, and the intrigues formed against him.”

Catharine had long meditated on marrying the Grand-duke; but as this Prince seemed to be of a feeble temperament and of a cold constitution, she apprehended that he was but little disposed to give heirs to the empire. Her confidants soon went to work to dissipate her fears. They persuaded a young Polish widow, named Sophia Ocipowna Ouchakova Czartorynska, to try the effect of her charms upon the heart of the Prince. That woman consented, and had a son by him, to whom was given the name of Simon Welikoï.

From this time the Empress began to consider what consort she ought to make choice of for the Grand-duke. She was however a little embarrassed in her choice. She did not wish to have a princess who might become her own rival, and who, instructed by her example, might hazard an attempt to deprive her of her throne and life. It was necessary for her, on the contrary, to chuse one who had neither the means nor the inclination to render herself an object of apprehension. She fixed her regards on the daughters of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. These Princesses were three sisters. Catharine invited their mother to bring them to her court. However derogatory this proposition was to the dignity of the Landgravine of Hesse-Darmstadt, she accepted. She was ambitious. She listened only to the hope of placing one of her daughters on the throne of Russia, and repaired to Petersburg. The Empress received her with

with magnificence, and overwhelmed her with presents. After having had time to become acquainted with the three young Princesses, Catharine chose for the consort of the Grand-duke the Princess Wilhelmina, who, on embracing the Greek ritual, took the name of Natalia Alexiewa, and was united to the heir of the Czars.

Orloff and his party were in hopes that this marriage would be speedily succeeded by the disgrace of Panin. He received orders to quit the apartment which he occupied in the palace in quality of governor to the Prince. His friends trembled. The courtiers avoided him. He gave himself up for lost. His pupil had the generosity to quell this storm. He went in search of his mother, and represented to her that Panin had been always faithfully attached to the service of the empire, and that it would be too cruel for him to be banished from court, at the moment when he had the greatest reason to expect a recompense. This proceeding altered the resolution of the Empress. Instead of sending Panin an order to retire, she wrote him a letter replete with expressions of affection; she thanked him for the attention which he had paid to the education of the Grand-duke, and confirmed him in the administration of foreign affairs.

Those who were ignorant of the motive which had determined the Empress to retain Panin, found in her conduct an inexplicable contradiction. Orloff presumed to reproach her. She did not give him clearer information on the subject. Not chusing that this favourite should know that a mother had yielded to the solicitations of her son, she told him that it was necessary to sacrifice the pleasure of turning off a minister who gave dissatisfaction, to the occasion there was for his services. Always skilful in disguising her sentiments, she did not scruple to deceive the favourite, who flattered himself that he possessed her entire confidence. Although she appeared to have restored

to him her first tenderness, she secretly cherished in her heart a passion which was not slow in discovering itself: she wished for the second time to remove Orloff, but still kept on good terms with him.

Among the men of science and letters with whom the Empress maintained a regular correspondence, Voltaire and Diderot were the persons whom she distinguished the most. She invited them several times to pay her a visit. The philosopher of Ferney knew by experience all the danger of courts: he did not permit himself to be tempted by the desire of seeing that of Russia. The philosopher of Paris displayed more complaisance: he repaired to Peterburgh. Catharine overwhelmed him with benefits and praises. During the whole time that he was at her court she conversed with him every day on arising from dinner. Philosophy, legislation, politics, were usually the subject of these conversations. Diderot developed his principles on liberty and the rights of the people with his customary eloquence and enthusiasm. The Empress appeared enchanted; but she was not a whit the more disposed to profit by them.

"Monsieur Diderot," said she, "is a hundred years old in many respects; but in others he is no more than ten."

That Princess had not most probably, in secret, a better opinion of the wisdom of Voltaire; but she never spoke of him except with the respect due to the first dispenser of glory. The manner in which she wrote to him is well known. I have already quoted some fragments of her letters. I shall nevertheless transcribe one in this place, to display farther with what art she masked herself in the eyes of that celebrated man, and sought to attract those flatteries which he has but too liberally lavished on her.

———"With regard to haughtiness, I wish to make you on this subject my grand confession. I have had great success during the war: I very naturally rejoice in it. I have said Russia shall be rendered

“dered conspicuous by that war; it will be seen that
 “this nation is indefatigable; that she possesses men
 “of eminent merit, and who have all the qualities
 “requisite to form heroes: it will be seen that she is
 “not deficient in resources, but that she can stand
 “up in her own defence, and carry on war with vi-
 “gour, when unjustly attacked.

“Completely inspired with these ideas, I have
 “never made any reflection on Catharine, who, at
 “the age of forty-two, can increase neither in body
 “nor understanding, but who, in the natural order
 “of things, must remain, and does remain, as she is.
 “Do her affairs go on well?—She says, so much the
 “better! If they go on less prosperously, she will
 “make use of all her faculties to restore them again
 “to the best arrangement possible.

“This is my ambition, and I have no other; what
 “I say to you is truth. I will go still farther; I will
 “tell you, that in order to spare the effusion of hu-
 “man blood, I sincerely wish for peace; but that
 “peace is still far distant, although the Turks, from
 “different motives, ardently desire it. These people
 “do not know how to make it.

“I equally wish a settlement of the unreason-
 “able quarrels of Poland. I have to do there with
 “giddy heads, each one of which, instead of contri-
 “buting to the common peace, operates to the con-
 “trary, from caprice and volatility. My ambassador
 “has published a declaration which ought to have
 “opened their eyes. But it is to be presumed they
 “will rather expose themselves to the last extremity,
 “than adopt uniformly a wise and rational conduct.
 “The *vortices* of Descartes have never existed but in
 “Poland. There every head is a vortex which whirls
 “incessantly round itself. Chance alone stops it, and
 “never reason or judgment.

“I have not as yet received either your *questions*
 “or your watches from Ferney. I have no doubt
 “that the workmanship of your manufacturers will be

“ perfect, as they carry on their operations under your inspection.

“ Do not find fault with your people for having sent me an overstock of watches: that expense will not ruin me. It would be very unfortunate for me if I was so reduced as not to have at the proper season a sufficient number of trifling sums, as often as I have occasion for them. Do not, I beseech you, form a judgment of our finances by those of the other ruined powers of Europe: you would do me injustice. Although we have carried on war for three years past, we are building, and every thing else goes on as regularly as in a time of profound peace. Two years have elapsed since any new tax was imposed. The war is at present in an established state: once regulated, it does not in the slightest degree cause disorder in other affairs. If we can take one or two Caffas more, the war is paid.

“ I shall be satisfied with myself every time that I meet with your approbation, Sir. I have also perused my instructions for the code some weeks ago, because I then believed that the peace was nearer than it actually is; and I have found that I did right in forming it. I acknowledge that this code, for which several materials are preparing and others quite ready, will cost me still considerable labour, before it can be brought to that degree of perfection which I wish to see it attain. But no matter; it must be completed, although Taganrok should have the sea to the south, and high mountains to the north.

“ However, your projects upon that place could not have been put into execution till peace had secured its environs against all apprehensions of an attack by land and by sea; for, till the capture of the Crimea, this was the frontier place opposite to the Tartars. Perhaps in a short time the Khan of the Crimea may be brought to me in person. I understand

“derstand at this moment that he has not crossed
“the sea with the Turks, but that he remains in the
“mountains with a very small retinue, in a situation
“nearly similar to that of the Pretender in Scotland,
“after the defeat of *Culloden*. If he comes to me,
“we will make an attempt to throw him into anima-
“tion this winter; and, to avenge myself of him, I
“will make him dance, and he shall go to the French
“comedy.

“I was on the point of closing this letter when I
“received yours of the 10th of July, in which you
“inform me of the adventure which befel my *instruc-*
“*tions* in France. I was acquainted with this anecdote,
“and even of its appendix, in consequence of
“the order of the Duke de Choiseul. I confess to
“you that I have laughed at it when I read it in the
“gazettes, and found that I was sufficiently revenged.

“The fire at Petersburg has, according to the re-
“ports of the police, consumed in all 140 houses,
“among which there were twenty built of stone; the
“rest were only barracks of wood. The high wind
“carried the flames and the brands all around, which
“renewed the conflagration the next day, and gave
“it a supernatural air. But it is not to be doubted
“that the high wind and the excessive heat caused all
“this evil, which shall be speedily repaired.

“With us building goes on with greater celerity
“than in any other country in Europe. In 1762
“there was a fire twice as considerable, which con-
“sumed an immense quarter of the city built of
“wood. The whole was rebuilt in brick, in less than
“three years.”

BOOK VIII.

Discontents in various Parts of the Empire—Causes which determined different Impostors to assume the name of Peter III.—Revolt of Pugatscheff—His Successes—His Reverses—His Death—Potemkin becomes Favourite—Manner of installing and dismissing Favourites—Journey to Moscow—Rewards granted to Marechal Romanzoff and the other Generals—Troubles in the Krimea—Zawadoffsky Favourite—Death of the Grand-duke's first Consort—Journey of that Prince to Berlin—His second Marriage—Zoritz Favourite.

THE prosperity of the Empress seemed for a moment to have reached its extreme boundary. A dreadful storm had arisen in the most remote provinces of the empire. It roared, it spread, it threatened to subvert the throne of Catharine. That Princess had given much cause of offence to the greatest part of her subjects. The grandees were disgusted at her caprices, and with the insolence of her favourites. The clergy burnt with desire to avenge the diminution of their privileges. The people groaned under the pressure of the innumerable vexations they had to endure. Finally, the peasants were reduced to despair at beholding all their children torn from them one after another to recruit the armies, which the sword of the Turks and the ravages of the plague were incessantly mowing down on the banks of the Danube. The kosaks of the Don first displayed the signal of rebellion. They had at their head a man who, well acquainted with their credulity, and observing the spirit of discontent diffused among them, was soon in a condition to excite several provinces to revolt, and who, had he possessed the skill to make the

the

the most of his successes, might undoubtedly have changed the fate of Russia.

But it is necessary first of all to unfold the motive which determined that man to undertake the bold part which he performed. The papas never could forgive Catharine for refusing to give them back their revenues. They hoped to find in imposture one of the surest and most practicable means of vengeance: they did not fail to have recourse to it. They were at pains to have it whispered about that Peter III. was not dead, and that he would soon appear to re-demand his throne of the Empress. There accordingly did in fact appear, in the province of Woronetz, a pretended Peter III. but he was taken, detected as an impostor, and punished with death.

Some years afterwards, a deserter from the regiment of Orloff, named Tchernischeff, appeared in the village of Kopenka, on the frontiers of the Crimea, and likewise attempted to pass for the deceased Emperor. The papas procured him a great number of partisans; and they were preparing to crown him in a church, when the colonel of a Russian regiment, who had been informed that Tchernischeff was stirring up the people, came upon him by surprise, and instantly had his head cut off.

In the territory of Montenero, tributary to the Grand-signor, a physician, whose name was Stephano, availed himself of the enthusiasm with which the Russian name inspired the Greek Christians of that province, to propagate a belief among them that he was Peter III. The monks, nay the bishop, warmly supported him, and this pretension occasioned an insurrection among the people. But the janissaries soon obliged Stephano to consult his safety by flight. More fortunate than the other representatives of Peter, he escaped the scaffold.

A fourth impostor shewed himself afterward in the government of Oufa. Born a serf on one of the estates

of the Woronzoff family, he fled for refuge among the kosacs, and followed a detachment on its march to join the Russian army. On arriving at one of the stations fixed in the desert between the Don and the Volga, he assembled his comrades, and assured them he was Peter III. That stupid and barbarous company believed him, acknowledged him as Emperor, and swore they would die in his defence. He immediately named his ministers, his generals, and prepared to wear the crown with as much security as if he had been in possession of a kingdom and of a powerful army. But his reign was not of long duration. At the end of a few hours a Russian officer came and seized his newly created majesty by the hair, had him bound by the hands of his own subjects, and sent him to prison at Tzaritzin. There the soldiery and the populace, instigated by the monks, made an attempt to rescue the impostor. But Colonel Zipletoff, commandant of the fortress, part of the garrison of which maintained their fidelity, advanced, with a discharge of musketry, to disperse the insurgents. The impostor was instantly sentenced to the knout, and perished under the lash of the executioner.

A prisoner of Irkoutsk attempted an imitation of the four thoughtless wretches who have just been mentioned, and fared no better. All these tragical farces were a prelude merely to the bloody scenes preparing by a more formidable cheat.

Ymelian Pugatscheff was the son of a kosac, and born at Simoweisk, a village situated on the banks of the Don. He served at first as a simple trooper in the army which the Empress Elizabeth ordered to march, in 1756, against the King of Prussia. He afterwards served in the campaign of 1769, against the Turks. He fought under General Panin at the siege of Bender. After the capture of that city he wished to have his discharge. It was refused. He made his escape

escape into Poland. Some hermits of the Greek persuasion, to whose hospitality he resorted, kept him in concealment for some time.

He frequently conversed with those hermits on the subject of his campaigns and of his different adventures. He related to them, one day, that when he was in the army of General Panin, a Russian officer said to him, after having long considered his face and person, "If the Emperor Peter III. my master, were not dead, I could believe you to be the man." The hermits seemed to pay no great attention to this relation: but, some time after, one of their companions, whom Pugatscheff had not yet seen, suddenly exclaimed, "Is not that the Emperor, Peter III.?" The monks from that moment laid themselves out to seduce him, and found no great difficulty in succeeding. As soon as he was sufficiently prepared to serve as the instrument of their imposture, he departed for the city of Dubranka, where he stopped some days. From thence he got into little Russia, and sojourned among the sectaries, so numerous there, who practise the Greek religion, such as it was taught by the primitive church. Afraid of being soon detected as a deserter, he took refuge among the kosacs of the Don, and became adjutant to the hetman Yewremoff. Thence he migrated to the inhabitants of the banks of the Yaik, a river to which Catharine has given the name of Oural. Pugatscheff confided to many of those kosacs the design he entertained of forming a party, and engaged them to accompany him to the heights of mount Caucasus, assuring them they would there find powerful support. It was not known that he had already resolved to pass himself for Peter III. But, as it was no secret that he stirred up the people to sedition, they had him arrested at Malekoffska, and sent him to Kasan to be tried. The governor neglected to bring this disturber of the public peace to judgment. Pugatscheff was frequently visited in prison by the papas, who, without doubt, were in his

secret. They furnished him with money, which he employed in bribing his guards, and made his escape. He immediately joined some of his associates, went down the Volga as far as the mouth of the Irghis, forced his way up that river, and penetrated into the desert. There he saw his force every day increase. When he believed he might reckon on a formidable party, he boldly declared himself to be the Emperor Peter III. miraculously escaped from the dagger of assassins.

The rebellion had already burst into a flame among the kosaks of the Yaïk. They are so attached to their religious prejudices and to their beard, which they suffer to grow to an immoderate length, that it is impossible with safety to make them renounce it. Prince Wiaschemskoi, procurator-general of the senate, had stripped them of a great part of their pasture-lands, and forced them to dispose of a large proportion of their live-stock. The minister Zakar Tchernischeff, after having reduced their pay, already very moderate, had given no other reply to their deputies, who went to Peterburgh to complain and petition for redress, but a hearty drubbing. Afterwards they were called upon for recruits to form a regiment of hussars. They furnished these; but the moment the recruits were called upon to cut off their beards they refused. General Trautenberg, a Livonian, who was at Yaïtsk, set at nought their remonstrances, and ordered them to be shaved in the public market-place. The inhabitants of Yaïtsk, roused to indignation at this act of violence, which they considered as a sacrilege, flew to arms, and massacred Trautenberg and several of his officers. At the commencement of the following year, General Freymann, a German, came to re-establish order at Yaïtsk, and inflicted cruel punishments on the ringleaders of the revolt. But those severities served only to stimulate the spirit of sedition and revenge.

Pugatscheff, wishing to take advantage of the disordered

ordered state of Yaitsk, repaired thither secretly, and found no difficulty in making friends at that place. The monks had already circulated a rumour that a new emperor was on the point of appearing, and the people, irritated against the governor and the soldiery, conceived hopes that this emperor would deliver them from their accumulated vexations. Pugatscheff learned at Yaitsk that the kosacs had just been provoked into a second revolt, and that a party of them had retired into the morasscs. He instantly went and joined them. Having at first found many of them assembled to pursue the employment of fishery, he announced himself as Peter III. and said, "That he had made his escape from prison at the moment they were going to destroy him; that the traitors who had dethroned him, and who trembled at the thought of his re-appearance, had disseminated a false account of his death; that he had been under the necessity of disguising himself as a kosac, to carry arms for his persecutors, and to conceal himself afterwards among the true and faithful believers, to whom he had made himself known; that having at last been informed the brave kosacs of the Yaik had resolved to throw off the yoke of the usurper, he was come to put himself into their hands, and to march in their company to take vengeance."

The kosacs were easily to be seduced. Prepared by the monks for the speedy appearance among them of an emperor who would protect their religion, they greedily swallowed every thing that Pugatscheff said; recognized him as the Czar Peter III. and swore to replace him on the throne, and to sacrifice life itself in maintaining him there. Pugatscheff, accompanied by these kosacs, by his first partisans, and by many others who flocked to his standard, attacked the colonies which the Empress had recently settled on the banks of the Irghis. He stood in need of their arms and their horses: these he took away; but did them

no farther mischief, for he then affected a moderation which soon degenerated into the most tremendous ferocity. Having already under his command 14,000 soldiers, he advanced boldly to the gates of Yaitsk. He addressed a summons to the governor under the signature of Peter III. commanding him to deliver up the city. The governor refused to obey. Pugatscheff made the assault, but was vigorously repulsed. Perceiving it would be impossible for him to carry the place by storm, he resolved to reduce it by famine. This attempt was equally unsuccessful. The garrison, reduced to feed on horse-flesh and even on-boiled leather, obstinately refused to capitulate, and restrained the inhabitants, who were disposed to open the gates to Pugatscheff. The patience and zeal of this garrison met with their reward. A considerable body of Russians arrived to save them from the massacre to which, undoubtedly, they were destined by the rebels.

Pugatscheff speedily indemnified himself for this disappointment. He surprised the colonies of the Ietz, and carried, sword in hand, the two first fortresses which protected them. The fort of Tatischewa, which he afterwards attacked, made a stouter resistance. But as this fort was built entirely of wood, he set fire to it, and obliged the garrison to consult their safety by flight.

The governor of Orenburgh, informed of the progress of the rebels, dispatched a detachment to oppose them, under the command of Colonel Buloff. That officer was deficient both in prudence and firmness. Surprised in the defiles of the mountains by the troops of Pugatscheff, he surrendered without striking a blow, and was massacred most mercilefsly. Those of his soldiers who refused to enlist among the rebels were detained as prisoners. General Tchernischeff, who was on his march to join Colonel Buloff, at the head of a second detachment, allowed himself to be surprised as he did, and met a similar fate.

The

The army of Pugatscheff being powerfully reinforced, both by recruits pressed into the service and the voluntary and more numerous recruits of the *kosaks*, he proceeded to lay siege to Orenburgh. The governor of that city had already considerably weakened his garrison by the several detachments he ordered to march against the rebels. The soldiers who remained were in no condition to make a defence. Orenburgh was on the point of being captured, when the garrison of Krasnogorsk advanced to its relief, and, gallantly cutting a passage for themselves through the besiegers, entered the city and saved it.

The report of Pugatscheff's conquests procured him additional support. Whole hordes crowded to his standard. The *Baschkirs*, hunting tribes, who live on the territory of Russia, and bear her yoke with extreme impatience, declared for the rebels, and furnished them with numerous recruits. The *Kirghis* closely followed the *Baschkirs*. Their example was followed by the *Budziaks*, Tartars whom the Empress had ordered to be transplanted to the banks of the Volga after the capture of Bender, and who could never pardon her their transmigration. The revolt extended over the other colonies of those countries. The peasants employed in the copper-mines and in the founderies of the mountains of Oural, deserted their labour and took up arms.

Pugatscheff vigorously pushed the siege of Orenburgh. While one part of his troops occupied the trenches, another went and carried off the copper money from the mines, and cast bullets and cannon, which he employed against the city. Part of the winter passed in this siege, during which he abandoned himself to continual excesses of debauchery and cruelty.

The rebel army was by this time so numerous, that the regiments sent from Kasan oftener than once ran the risk of being forced, in defending the pass of the mountains which separate that city from Orenburgh.

In

In the course of the winter a body of 10,000 Kalmucs, after having revolted in the vicinity of Stauropol, and massacred brigadier Véguezac, who commanded them, formed a junction with the troops of Pugatscheff. But what contributed, perhaps, to render his army more formidable, was a great number of those Polanders whom Catharine had exiled to the deserts of Siberia. Elated by so many advantages, Pugatscheff over-ran and laid waste the mountains of the government of Orenburgh. The small city of Oufa was the only one which had the courage to resist him. He committed the siege of it to one of the chiefs of his army, and marched straight to Ekatherinenburgh, where he knew there were deposited near a million of roubles, in copper money newly coined. This city owed its safety to an accident. At the moment when Pugatscheff was hanging over it, he received false information that a Russian army, superior to his own, was advancing by another route. He gave credit to it. Having slackened his march to give time to his forces to join him, he afforded an opportunity to the regiments dispersed over the frontiers of Siberia of assembling for the defence of Ekatherinenburgh.

When he first had recourse to arms, Pugatscheff, faithful to the lessons of the hermits of Podolia, and of the priests roskolniky, affected great piety and moderation: he wore the habit of a bishop, gave his benediction to the people, assuring them he wished nothing for himself, and that his sole ambition was to seat the Grand-duke his son on the throne, and then to retire and finish his days among the pious recluses who had given him an asylum, on his escape from the persons employed to murder him. This conduct procured him soldiers. Other means made victory sure. Uniting then courage to activity, he lost no opportunity of diffusing far and wide the terror of his arms. He dextrously availed himself of the advantage which his knowledge of the country and the imprudence or ignorance

ignorance of the Russians furnished him. He quitted the plundering of a canton only to fly to a siege; and no sooner had he reduced a city than he hastened to fight a battle. But this man, who triumphed so rapidly over the severities of fortune, wanted wisdom to improve her favours. Success inflamed his pride; he imagined that no obstacle could possibly present itself but what he might easily surmount. He threw off all restraint, gave the reins to his sanguinary temper and his brutal passions; he suffered the enthusiasm of his partisans to cool, gave his enemies time to prepare themselves to subdue him, and foolishly stopped short in the midst of his career.

The spirit of rebellion had spread as far as Moscow. Marechal Romanzoff durst not weaken his own force by sending succours thither. That city was defended by a garrison of no more than 600 men. Pugatscheff had only to make his appearance in order to become master of it. This he neglected to do; and, by that oversight, lost not only the first city of the empire, but an army of 100,000 serfs who there expected him, and who would have broken asunder their chains on his approach.

Pugatscheff did not even avail himself of his advantages in the provinces where he had conquered. He wasted the greatest part of winter in the useless sieges of Orenburgh and Yaitsk. It was under the walls of Orenburgh that he put to the sabre all the officers and men of family who were brought in. He put to death about 3000 of this description: he did not spare even their wives and children; whole families were exterminated. He intended to shed, he said, to the very last drop, the blood of that Russian nobility so haughty and so tyrannical. But, with a contradiction altogether unaccountable, while he was endeavouring to extirpate nobility, he conferred on such of his partisans as he could most securely trust, the names of the principal families of the empire, and

and the insignia of the different orders of knighthood.

He alienated the affections of one part of his compatriots by flying in the face of their religious prejudices, of which at first he approved himself the zealous supporter. Though he had married, several years before, Sophia, the daughter of a kofac, and had three children by her, he was not ashamed to espouse a common strumpet, at Yaitsk, and celebrated his nuptials with bacchanalian orgies, worthy of the partner he had selected.

Catharine, alarmed at a revolt which shook her throne, took measures for checking its farther progress. She recalled General Bibikoff from the frontiers of Turkey, gave him the command of a considerable army, and orders to march against the rebels. At the same time she published at Petersburg, and in the other principal cities of the empire, the following manifesto.

"We, Catharine II. by the grace of God, Empress and Sovereign Lady of all the Russias, &c. make known to all our faithful subjects, that we have learnt with the highest indignation and extreme concern, that a certain kofac, a deserter and a vagabond of the Don, by name Yemelian Pugatscheff, after having wandered over Poland, has some time ago assembled, in the districts of the government of Orenburgh which border on the river Irghis, a troop of vagabonds like himself; that he is there committing the most dreadful outrages of every kind, by depriving, in the most inhuman manner, the quiet inhabitants of their possessions, and even of life; and that, in order to decoy into his party, hitherto composed of banditti only, the persons who fall in his way, and especially the unfortunate patriots, whose credulity he imposes upon, he has had the audacity to assume the name of the late Emperor Peter III. It would be superfluous

“fluous in this place to expose the absurdity of such
“an imposture, which cannot clothe itself with so
“much as the shadow of probability in the eyes of
“sensible people; for, thanks to the divine goodness, those ages are passed away when the Russian
“empire was plunged in ignorance and barbarism,
“when the Grischkas, the Otrepiefs, their adherents,
“and several other traitors to their country, availed
“themselves of impostures equally gross and detestable, to arm brother against brother, citizen against
“citizen.

“Since these eras, which it is painful to call to
“remembrance, all true patriots have enjoyed the
“fruits of public tranquillity, and tremble at the recollection merely of ancient troubles. In a word,
“there is no man worthy of bearing the Russian
“name, who does not regard with abhorrence the
“impudent falsehood by which Pugatscheff imagines
“he is able to deceive and betray simple and credulous people, by promising to enfranchise them from
“every bond of submission and obedience to their
“sovereign, as if the Creator of the universe had constituted human societies in such a manner as possibly to subsist without an intermediate authority
“between sovereign and subjects.

“At the same time, as the audacity of this vile refuse of the human race is productive of consequences pernicious to the provinces adjacent to that district; as the report of the atrocities there committed may terrify persons, accustomed to apprehend
“the calamities of others as ready to burst upon
“themselves; and as we watch, with indefatigable
“care, over the tranquillity of our faithful subjects,
“we inform them by this present manifesto, that we
“have taken, without delay, the measures we deemed the most proper for quelling the sedition; and
“that, in order totally to annihilate the ambitious
“designs of Pugatscheff, and to exterminate a band
“of robbers, who have had the rashness to attack the

“small

“small military detachments scattered over those
“countries, and to massacre the officers whom they
“had taken prisoners, we have sent thither, with a
“sufficient number of troops, General Alexander Bi-
“bikoff, commander in chief of our armies, and ma-
“jor of our regiment of life-guards.

“Thus we entertain no doubt of the prosperous
“issue of these measures, and we flatter ourselves
“that the public tranquillity will be speedily restored,
“and that the wretches who are desolating a part of
“the government of Orenburgh will quickly be dis-
“persed. We are, furthermore, persuaded that our
“faithful subjects will hold in detestation the impos-
“ture of the rebel Pugatscheff, as destitute of all
“probability, and will repel the artifices of those
“ill-intentioned persons, who seek and find their pri-
“vate advantage in the seduction of the weak and
“credulous, and who have no other way of satiating
“their avidity, but by ravaging their country and
“spilling innocent blood.

“We are equally persuaded that every genuine
“son of his country will be zealous in fulfilling his
“own duties, in contributing to the maintenance of
“good order and of the general repose, in guarding
“himself against the snares of seduction, and in ac-
“quitting himself of the obedience due to his lawful
“sovereign. Thus all our faithful subjects may cease
“from every alarm, and live in perfect security, as we
“employ our whole attention, and make our whole
“glory to consist in it, toward the preservation of
“their property and the extension of the common
“felicity.”

Three additional oukases closely followed that
which announced the march of Bibikoff. In one,
the people were cautioned thenceforward to respect
no laws but such as were authenticated under the sig-
nature of the Empress herself. In another, an invita-
tion was given to deserters, and particularly to the
kofacs of the Don and of the Yaik, to rejoin the stan-
dard

dard of the Empress, with an assurance of indemnity up to the first of April of the following year. Finally, by the third, Pugatscheff was proscribed, and a reward of 100,000 roubles promised for his head.

Pugatscheff, on his part, was not more sparing of manifestoes; and, in publishing them, always took care to appropriate to himself the name of Peter III. By one of those proclamations he liberated all the peasants. He likewise ordered a coinage of roubles, with his own effigies and this inscription on the one side:—"Peter III. Emperor of all the Russias."—And on the reverse were these words:—"Redivivus et Ultor."

Meanwhile General Bibikoff had already reached Kasan. Being informed that the rebels had gotten possession of Samara, he detached a part of his army to retake that place. The siege was of no long duration. The rebels abandoned the city with eight pieces of cannon and 200 prisoners.

The nobles of Kasan were convoked. Bibikoff invited them to join him, and assist in crushing the rebellion. The nobles were predisposed to do so. Their own cause was at stake. Their example was followed by those of Simbirsk, of Penza, and of some other districts; and the regiments which they formed without loss of time, considerably increased Bibikoff's force. On this the Empress wrote to the general, in the following terms:—"That she not only observed with gratitude the zeal which the nobles had so generously displayed, in offering to sacrifice every thing for the public good, but in order to give, on this occasion, a distinguished mark of her good will, she wished herself to become a member of the nobles of Kasan, and to be enrolled as a denizen of that city."

Lieutenant-colonel Grineff obtained the first advantage at Alexieff. After an obstinate resistance, the rebels left him master of the field of battle and of three pieces of brass ordnance. A few days after

they suddenly attacked him on his march, but were a second time put to flight. Some others of Bibikoff's lieutenants were likewise successful in their encounters with different bodies of Tartars. Notwithstanding this the numbers and the audacity of the rebels daily increased. They flocked together from every quarter of Oriental Russia, and ravaged an extent of country of more than 600 leagues.

General Bibikoff, advancing at the head of 35,000 men, obliged Pugatscheff to raise the siege of Orenburgh, where famine had begun to make fearful ravages. The rebels retreated to the vicinity of Tatischeva. Bibikoff dispatched Major-general Prince Gallitzin, with a considerable body of troops, in pursuit of them. Prince Gallitzin attacked Pugatscheff and fought him gallantly; but did not obtain, this first time, a decided advantage. He perceived that the ferocious intrepidity of the rebels was directed by officers who had not derived all their military skill from the deserts of the Bafchkirie, or learnt it under the tents of the Kalmuks. On retreating before Prince Gallitzin, Pugatscheff suddenly changed his route, and fell impetuously on Bibikoff, who had reserved about his person only a small part of the army. The conflict was bloody. It was rumoured that the Russian general fell on the field of battle; but he died in his bed very soon afterwards.

Prince Gallitzin burnt with impatience to avenge the defeat of Bibikoff. He attacked the rebels afresh near Kargaula, twelve miles from Orenburgh, put a great number of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest. On that day Pugatscheff fought for six hours together; but, beholding himself abandoned on all sides, betook himself to flight, and with difficulty escaped to the mountains of Oural. His partisans hastened to join him there. He re-appeared at the head of a formidable army. He made himself master of several places to the eastward of the mountains, and reduced to ashes such as made the slightest resistance.

sistance. A body of Russians attacked him, and forced him again to seek refuge in the most inaccessible heights. There he perceived that the only resource left him, was an attempt to retrieve his fortune by some brilliant exploit. All at once he descends like a torrent from the summits of the Oural, and marches with rapidity toward Kasan, leaving every step of his route marked with fearful traces of his cruelty. No sooner had he appeared before Kasan than he set fire to the suburbs. Major-general Paul Potemkin, governor of the province, might have kept the field against Pugatscheff, and prevented the burning of Kasan: he chose rather to shut himself up in the fortress, where the rebels besieged him, and he would undoubtedly have been taken, had not Colonel Mikelson come up to his relief. Pugatscheff durst not wait the arrival of Mikelson; he precipitately raised the siege and took to flight. But Mikelson pursued him close, overtook him, harassed him three days successively, and at last gave him a complete defeat after a long and bloody conflict. Pugatscheff continued to defend himself till he was left with not more than 300 kosacs. Attended by this troop, whose valour and fidelity supported the hopes of the impostor, he galloped off, crossed the Volga, and regained the desert.

This fresh defeat might have intimidated all who entertained a design of joining the rebels. Nevertheless Pugatscheff found himself still resorted to by swarms of kosacs of kalmucs, of baschkirs and of peasants, whom the very name of liberty, and the desire of shaking off the yoke of oppressive masters, had induced to abandon their labours and resort to arms. Elated by the number of his troops, which seemed to multiply in proportion as they were mowed down by the Russian artillery, he resolved to go and attack Moscow. His partisans continued secretly to blow the flame of sedition in that city. The people expected him as a deliverer: but it was now too late.

At the moment Pugatscheff was putting himself in motion, he received intelligence that the Russians had just concluded a treaty of peace with the Ottomans. Apprehending on this that he would have to contend with the greatest part of the army of Mareschal Romanzoff, he thought it expedient to bend his course in a different direction.

Informed that some Russian regiments were encamped on the banks of the Volga, he descended along the side of that river, surprized the regiments, and routed them. He took by assault two or three petty fortresses. That of Saratoff was of the number. The commandant, who knew the fate which awaited him, took advantage of the moment when the conqueror gave himself up to pillage, and made his escape, accompanied by only fifty men. The city of Demitreffsk fell into the hands of Pugatscheff by treachery. He had the barbarity to order the governor to be empaled.

While at Demitreffsk, he was told that the astronomer Lowitz, member of the academy of sciences at Petersburg, was busy in the vicinity, in taking levels for a canal proposed between the Don and the Volga. He immediately gave orders for his attendance; and when the peaceable son of science was introduced into his presence, commanded him to be elevated on halberds, to raise him, he said, nearer to the stars, and had him massacred by his kofacs. But so many atrocities must necessarily have come to a period. The most abominable excesses of Pugatscheff were the best security to the Empress.

That Princess, delivered from the anxieties to which the Turkish war had long subjected her, gave orders to dispatch additional troops to oppose the rebels, and gave the command of them to General Panin. This officer had acquired reputation by the capture of Bender. But, from the instant that Orloff had recovered his credit, the hatred which the favourite indulged against the prime minister extend-

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ed to his brother, and the Empress consented for some time to leave one of her best generals in a state of inaction. The occasion she had for his services, or rather the reviving credit of his brother, called him again into employment. In short, he marched against Pugatscheff. The arch-rebel was then pressing hard on the city of Tzaritzin, and doomed it, beyond a doubt, to the fate of Saratoff: but he was obliged to raise the siege with precipitation. Panin sent a fresh detachment to Colonel Mikelson. With this reinforcement Mikelson cut off the convoys of Pugatscheff, starved his army, and attacked him at the moment when, with several waggons under a load of baggage, and encumbered with a multitude of women who accompanied his march, he found himself entangled in a defile of the mountains. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of their position, the rebels scorned to surrender. A great number of them were killed on the spot: many others perished on the precipices, and among the steep rocks to which they fled for safety.

Pugatscheff quitted not the field of battle till no means of defence remained. He once more swum across the Volga; then passed the vast desert extending from that river to the smaller stream of Usem, and found himself nearly in the same place where he at first displayed the standard of revolt. Many friends had rejoined him in his flight; but famine, fatigue and dejection, determined numbers of them to give him up. He might still, however, have long continued to disturb the repose of the empire, had not treachery come to the assistance of the Russian armies.

Antizoff, the confidential associate of Pugatscheff, and one of the most distinguished chiefs among the kosacs, had been taken prisoner. He was deemed a proper person to be employed in reclaiming his nation. Presents and promises were lavished on him; and he was authorised to assure his compatriots, that

the practice of bestowing on them gratuities for guarding the frontiers should be restored. The expense incurred, by the Turkish war had occasioned a suspension of the payment of those gratuities, and this was one of the motives which incited the kosacs to rebellion.

While Antizoff was negotiating this accommodation, three other kosacs, likewise gained over, undertook to deliver up Pugatscheff. All the three had hitherto served him with fidelity, and possessed his confidence. One of them, named Twogoroff, was of Iletz; the other two, whose names were Tschoumakoff and Fidouleff, had been the first partisans in the revolt at Yaitsk. Happening one day to be alone with Pugatscheff, they thought of practising upon him by trick. "As we are beset on all sides by our enemies," said Twogoroff, "I believe the best course we can take is to surrender, on condition of obtaining a pardon." The idea of surrender filled Pugatscheff with indignation. He did not answer a single word; but drew his dagger, and was going instantly to inflict the punishment of death on the man who dared to suggest a timid advice. The three kosacs watched all his motions. They fell at once upon him, disarmed him, and having bound his hands behind his back, conveyed him, without loss of time, to the camp of Major-general Samaroff, who was expecting them a little way off. Samaroff sent Pugatscheff to Simbirsk. General Panin had him put up in an iron cage, and transported to Moscow, together with some other of his principal accomplices.

As soon as the Empress received information that Pugatscheff was in prison at Moscow, she named a commission, which was joined to the senate, to conduct the trial of the rebel. At the same time she carefully recommended to them to rest satisfied with a simple confession of his crime, without putting him to the torture, and without insisting that he should discover his

his abettors. She was apprehensive, no doubt, that the discoveries of the criminal might oblige her to extend punishment too far, and plunge the empire into fresh commotions. Pugatscheff was sentenced to have both his hands and both his feet cut off; that they should be exhibited to the people, and that afterwards he should be quartered alive. But he did not undergo that barbarous punishment. It is alleged by some that an order from the sovereign saved him from the severer parts of his sentence; by others, that the executioner was less inhuman than the judges. Be it as it may, Pugatscheff was first beheaded, after which his body was divided into quarters and exposed in different parts of the city. Five of the ringleaders of the rebellion were likewise decapitated. Others received the knout and were sent to Siberia. Such was the termination of a revolt which for a considerable time threatened Catharine's throne and life, and cost the empire the destruction of a great number of cities, and of more than 250 villages; the interruption of working the mines of Orenburgh and of the commerce of Siberia, and the blood of many thousands of the inhabitants. Pugatscheff assuredly never could have retained the crown of Russia, but the malecontents wished to see it plucked from the head of the possessor, without knowing perhaps on whom they meant to bestow it.

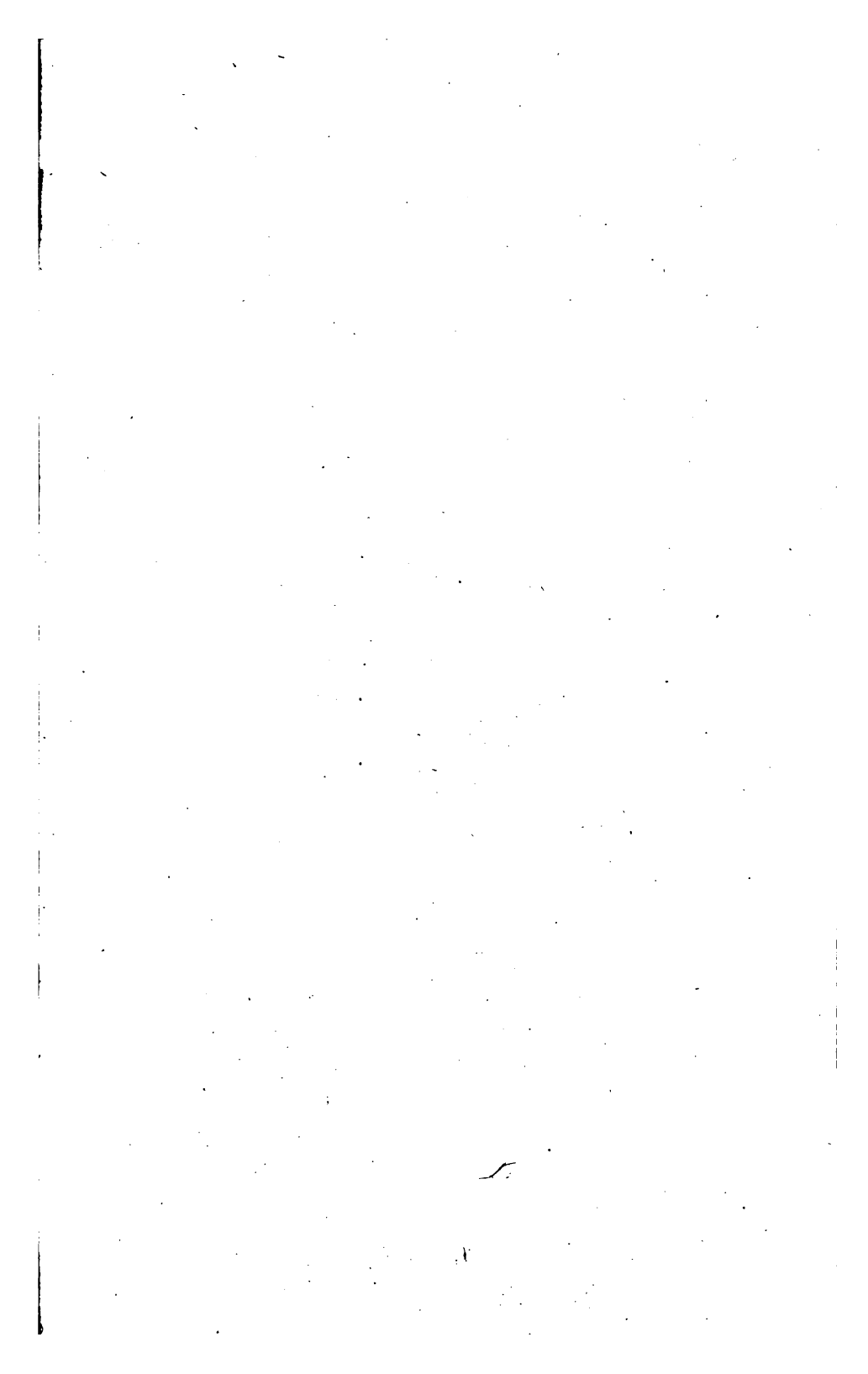
Soon after Pugatscheff was brought to punishment, the Empress had a new opportunity of displaying the clemency of her character. She extended mercy to men who were not, in truth, chargeable with the enormities of that robber, but were nevertheless highly criminal; I mean the treasurers of the empire. They had applied the public money to their own private uses, and thereby incurred the punishment of death: Catharine would not suffer them to be so much as brought to trial. Naturally irascible and violent, she affected great patience and gentleness.—“What I

"am not able to overthrow," said she, "I undermine
"and eradicate."

The post of favourite had been restored to Gregory Orloff merely from policy. Policy may assume the semblance of love, but does not command it. Catharine affected for her ancient lover a passion she no longer felt. She was lavish of her caresses, but could not again open her heart to him. Orloff deceived himself, then, in supposing he was the sole cause of Waffiltchikoff's dismissal. This sacrifice had been made to another and not to him.

A considerable period had elapsed since the Empress remarked the manly beauty and graceful demeanor of Potemkin. She recollected, with complacency, that on the day of the revolution of 1762, Potemkin, then a very young man, seized the instant of her mounting on horseback to present his sword-knot to her. She wished at length to know him more intimately; and the first interview she had with him secured to this new lover the advantage over all his rivals. Waffiltchikoff was dismissed. Orloff was resumed, and gave disgust. Potemkin alone administered consolation in secret for the solicitude occasioned by the war, the terrors which the rebellion inspired, and the misunderstanding which prevailed between the ancient favourite and the prime minister Panin. Potemkin was presumptuous. His good fortune inebriated him. His pride soon met with its punishment.

One day that he was playing at billiards with Alexis Orloff, he had the assurance to boast of the favour he enjoyed, and asserted that it depended entirely on himself to procure the banishment from court of all who fell under his displeasure. Alexis Orloff retorted in a haughty style: a scuffle ensued. Potemkin received a blow which struck out one of his eyes. This was not the full extent of his misfortune. Gregory Orloff, informed of the whole affair
by





GREGORY ALEXANDROWITZ POTESKIN,

at the Age of 38 Years.

Published Feb.^r 22.th 1800, by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

by his brother, flew to the Empress, and insisted on Potemkin's dismissal.

Potemkin retired to Smolensko, the place of his birth, where he remained almost a year, in solitude, suffering severely from his eye, and under the languor of banishment from court. He sometimes gave out that it was his intention to turn monk; at other times he predicted that he should become the most powerful man in Russia. At length, he suddenly thought of writing to the Empress, beseeching her to think of him. The Empress instantly dispatches his recal, and completely restores him to favour. Orloff had been out upon a hunting match for several days. Advantage was taken of his absence to instal Potemkin in the palace; and when the ancient favourite returned, neither complaints nor reproaches could shake the credit of the new one.

It may be necessary in this place to unfold what were the duties and the distinctions of Catharine's favourites. When that Princess had made choice of a new favourite, she conferred on him the rank of aide-de-camp, that he might accompany her wherever she went without furnishing any occasion for censure. From that time forward the favourite occupied apartments in the palace under those of the Empress, and which had a communication with them by a private staircase. The first day of his installation he received a present of 100,000 roubles, and every month found 12,000 on his toilet. The purveyor of the court had orders to keep up for him a table of 24 covers, and to defray the whole expense of his household. The favourite was obliged to attend the Empress on all her excursions. He could not leave the palace without asking and obtaining permission. He rarely durst venture to chat with other women; for if he meant to keep his place, it was incumbent on him to take care how he awakened the sovereign's jealousy.

As often as the Empress fixed her eyes on a subject in the view of raising him to the post of favourite, she contrived

of which she was such a complete mistress, she prevailed with him to remain.

Orloff, nevertheless, soon found a fresh mortification to swallow. Scarcely had Pugatscheff been executed, when the Empress conceived a design of going to Moscow. She wished, at once, to enjoy the triumph she had obtained over a rebel subject, and to put the last hand toward extinguishing the hope which might lie half-smothered in the breast of the malecontents. Orloff endeavoured to divert her from this intention : Potemkin urged her to fulfil it. This last advice was more conformable to the inclinations of Catharine. Potemkin easily carried his point. She took her departure.

This Princess was not ignorant that on her route to Moscow she had to pass through provinces in which the papas enjoyed very high credit, and held the people under a yoke of the most grovelling superstition. She held in contempt a puerile bigotry, and abhorred the dangerous ministers of it. But she recollected that she had employed it successfully when her object was to hurl her consort from the throne, and found herself obliged still to employ them, in order to bring back the alienated hearts, and attract the veneration, of the deluded multitude. She carried with her, therefore, a great number of small images of the saints, which she deposited in all the churches and chapels on the road. She farther destined, for the cathedral of Moscow, a large image of the Virgin, very richly habited and adorned with diamonds, and had it placed in a carriage which, through the whole journey, and on her making her public entry into Moscow, went in procession after her own. Six hundred men of each of the regiments of guards had preceded her arrival in that city, and appeared under arms to receive her. Two triumphal arches had been reared, and a sumptuous banquet provided. Her retinue was brilliant, the croud of spectators immense; order and magnificence were every

every where displayed. Nothing was wanting but the acclamations of joy. The people, more astonished than kindly affected, exhibited not the slightest sign of satisfaction. The Empress had given orders to announce a diminution of taxes: but all hearts seemed to be as little affected by her benefits as by her ostentation.

The Grand-duke met with a very different reception. Wherever he went the homage withheld from his mother was lavished on him. It is alleged that a courtier, struck at observing this contrast, and desirous of sounding the dispositions of the heir of the throne, said to him, "You see, Prince, how much you are beloved. Ah! if you had a mind!"—The Grand-duke made no reply, but darted a severe look at the courtier, which proved that, though the throne which of right appertained to him was kept too long out of his possession, he nevertheless knew how to act the part of a respectful son.

Some days after the Empress arrived at Moscow, she undertook a pilgrimage to the convent of the Trinity, situated at the distance of 40 verstes from the city, and celebrated for having served as an asylum to Peter I. when he wanted to shake off the guardianship of the regent Sophia. Catharine performed this journey on foot, attended by all her court. Count Panin was the only one she did not invite to act a part in this hypocritical farce. He said accordingly, to avenge himself of this species of discourtesy, "The Empress did not wish me to partake of her pilgrimage, because she thought me neither devotee enough nor courtier enough." But perhaps Catharine only found in him too much indolence and obesity to admit of his journeying 40 verstes on foot. Panin not only neglected to pay the attentions of a courtier, but daily forgot more and more his functions as a minister. Ease and pleasure had become his sole employment. He read but seldom the dispatches of the ambassadors, and still more rarely did he

he deign to answer them. This conduct furnished arms to his enemies. It was particularly favourable to the ambitious views of Potemkin, who ardently wished to turn out Panin. On succeeding to the influence which Orloff had enjoyed, Potemkin dared to form the same projects which his predecessor had done. He thought that he might pretend to the hand of the sovereign : but he dreaded Panin's frankness, his persuasive eloquence, nay his skill in the arts of intrigue, which, in spite of his indolence, that minister could still put in practice.

How many a strange metamorphosis has ambition produced ! The loftiest man in all Russia, he who seemed the least calculated to submit to restraint, and who, having not so much as the shadow of religion, turned all into ridicule, Potemkin all at once assumed the exterior of the most austere piety. From the commencement of Lent he was observed to renounce good cheer, of which he was extremely fond. He went so far as to restrict himself to roots for food, and drank nothing but water. He went to confession almost every day, and wearied heaven with long prayers. He had taken care to make choice of the same ghostly director with the Empress. He informed him of the commerce in which he lived with her, and intreated him to declare to that Princess, that his alarmed conscience would no longer suffer him to gratify a love not sanctioned by wedlock. Whether the monk had been gained or not, he faithfully executed his commission. Catharine did not condescend to explain herself to him. It was easy for her to guess what had suggested Potemkin's scruples ; she sent for that hypocritical lover, and spoke to him in a tender, but at the same time in a lofty style. She told him, that though he was dear to her, she was sufficiently mistress of herself to conquer her passion, and that if he no longer wished to occupy the post of favourite, she could have the resolution to give him a successor.

Potemkin

Potemkin humbled, confounded, was incapable of concealing his chagrin in such a manner as to prevent its being remarked by the courtiers. He was even heard to say that he intended to take orders, and have himself consecrated an archbishop. But the Empress returned to Petersburg. Potemkin followed her, and soon laid aside a false devotion, to addict himself entirely to the pursuits of ambition and pleasure.

Court intrigues have for some time diverted our attention from objects of superior importance. It must not, however, pass unobserved, that Catharine's pleasures never encroached on her application to the business and government of her empire. At an early period of her residence in Moscow, Marechal Romanzoff arrived in that city, and was welcomed by the Empress with a glow of benevolence which the most illustrious supporter of her throne well deserved. It was at first her intention that he should enter Moscow the same day with herself, and that, advancing on horseback between the triumphal arches reared on the occasion, he should meet her without dismounting. But the valiant and modest conqueror of the Ottomans thought it his duty to decline those honours. He was sensible, that by accepting all that gratitude devised in his behalf, there might be danger of wounding imperial pride. His glory had already excited but too much envy in the breast of the courtiers, especially in that of Potemkin. What would it have been had he participated the honours which the sovereign had prepared for herself? He appeared before her, therefore, not as a triumphant commander, but as a plain soldier coming to give an account of his actions.

Next day the Empress, attended by the Grand-duke, the principal officers of the empire, and the whole court, repaired on foot from the ancient palace of the Czars to the cathedral of Moscow, to assist at a solemn mass, and to join in the *Te Deum* chanted in celebration

celebration of the peace. This ceremony being ended, the private treasurer of the Empress read aloud a list of the rewards which she granted the generals who had distinguished themselves in the war against the Turks.

Field-mareschal Romanzoff received an estate in land with 5000 peasants; 100,000 roubles in ready money; a very handsome service of plate; a hat, decorated with a sprig of laurel and set with precious stones, to the value of 30,000 roubles; the ribbon of the order of St. George and an epaulet in diamonds, with a most magnificent field-mareschal's baton.

Alexis Orloff got 60,000 roubles, and a sword enriched with very superb diamonds.

Generals Paul Potemkin, Panin, Dolgorouky, Soltikoff, Tchernischeff, and several others, likewise received marks of Catharine's munificence.

Most of those generals, nevertheless, were no less jealous of the recompense bestowed on Mareschal Romanzoff, than discontented with their own. Alexis Orloff, General Panin and Prince Dolgorouky, were unable to suppress their dissatisfaction, and resigned their offices. Catharine accepted their demission. In the evening she said in the hearing of her court: "I have dispatched a courier to day; I leave you to guess whither." No one could form a conjecture: but next day the enigma was explained. The Empress had sent to a village near Moscow for some dozens of those little spinning tops which boys whip about for their diversion, and ordered them to be carried to the three generals who had just obtained leave to retire, with a message from her, importing, "That as henceforth they were likely to have much leisure, time on their hands, she had sent somewhat to amuse them." What a display of Catharine's haughtiness was this cruel sarcasm, addressed to men who considered themselves as the props of her throne!

The generals of this Princess were not the only persons toward whom she signalized her munificence.

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The abolition of sundry taxes was a benefit in which the inhabitants of the whole empire participated. She had been for years employed in framing regulations for the interior administration of her states. She had them printed at Moscow; but ordered them to be at first observed only in the governments of Smolensko and of Twer, because the people of those two provinces appeared to her the most intelligent, the most docile, and the best adapted to bring to a happy issue an experiment of new legislation.

Before promulging these regulations, the Empress repaired to the senate in great state, and had them read and registered in her presence. She had already ordered to enrol there an oukase that well merited the gratitude of a great number of her subjects. The inhabitants of the extremities of the empire had been hitherto obliged to resort to Petersburg or to Moscow to have justice administered. Catharine wished to spare them such tedious and expensive journeys. She declared that law-suits should in future be determined by the provincial tribunals, reserving however to the parties the right of appeal from the sentence of those courts to either of the senates, and even to the council of the Empress, but under this farther declaration, that if the first decision was confirmed, the party appealing should pay a fine.

Another oukase diffused satisfaction among the inhabitants of Siberia. The revolt of Pugatscheff had long interrupted their commerce, and the scarcity of money greatly relaxed its operations. By devising a remedy for the last of these inconveniences, the Empress made the first to be forgotten. A bank was established at Tobolsk, and the direction of it committed to Gotowzoff, who had already given proof of his capacity in the management of the noble bank of Petersburg. The trade of Siberia thenceforward recovered its activity.

The general commerce of the empire, especially,

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attracted

attracted the attention of Catharine. She encouraged it with all the power she possessed ; for she considered it, and justly, as one of the principal sources of her greatness. It was therefore with extreme satisfaction she then understood that ten ships, laden with the wines of Greece, had just made their way from the Archipelago into the Russian ports of the Black Sea, and on the sea of Azoph. The commandant of the Dardanelles had at first obstructed their passage : but the vigorous remonstrances of colonel Peterfon, the Russian agent at Constantinople, had obliged the Divan to permit them to pursue their voyage.

In the edict which preceded the regulations above mentioned, the Empress, desirous of exciting emulation, and in the view of conferring a kind of dignity on those of her subjects who devoted themselves to commerce, exempted them from the capitation tax, and from the obligation, to which they had hitherto been subjected, of drawing lots for recruiting both the land and sea service. She permitted, at the same time all the free peasants to have themselves enrolled in one of the five classes of merchants, on condition of paying annually to the crown one per cent of the capital employed in their trade. In the view of farther extending the commerce of Russia, Catharine renewed her treaty with Great Britain. She likewise encouraged industry and agriculture. New manufactures were established. Exertions were made to rebuild the villages, and to repair all the mischief which the rebellion of Pugatscheff had brought upon the colonies settled by the banks of the Volga. But unfortunately the persons to whom the Empress confided the exercise of her power, very rarely promoted her views. Placed in authority to render her government acceptable to numerous tribes, they made it an object of detestation.

Some of the new colonies had been ravaged by the incursions of the rebels, and the whole together languished under the mal-administration and dishonesty of
of

of the Russian agents. The 100,000 settlers whom Catharine had invited into her states, and who were mostly Germans, found themselves reduced, ten years after, to 29,000, scattered and discouraged, in the vicinity of Saratoff, Kieff and Tzaritzin.

Eagerly intent on leaving at Moscow more than one monument to record her munificence, the Empress had resolved, from 1767, to have the Kremlin rebuilt, and had entrusted the execution of that work to the Russian architect Bajanoff, the pupil of the Neapolitan Vanvitelli, and worthy of so renowned a master. The first foundations of it were laid, and the plan of the artist promised an edifice which should be one of the most beautiful and most extensive in the universe. Unfortunately the ground on which it was to be reared, being partly covered by, and adjacent to, the Moscowa, it was necessary to prop it up by immense counterforts. The architect intended to construct them all at once: but the expense of the war cut off the necessary supplies of money; and he raised only two or three of those supports, which sunk toward the end of 1774. This induced Catharine to abandon her design. She then employed Bajanoff to build a small gothic palace at Tchernojark, the idea of which she conceived from perusing a work containing a representation of the Gothic monuments preserved in England. The palace of Tchernojark is extremely pretty, and perhaps singular in its kind.

Catharine was still at Moscow, when she received intelligence that certain officers had been following the example of Lieutenant-colonel Kischenskoï, whose improper conduct has already been exposed. Their oppressions compelled a horde of Bashkirs to revolt. Those Tartars not only refused to pay the accustomed tribute, but massacred the Russian officers, and the papas who had been sent among them. They afterwards placed, in the portative chapels of those papas, images of the Dalai-Lama, preferring their ancient idolatry to a religion the votaries of which were in

their eyes merely insatiable plunderers. The Empress thought it expedient to enter into a negotiation with them. Officers less rapacious than the former were appointed, and the whole horde quietly submitted again to the authority of Russia.

While Catharine was soothing the rebellious Tartars of the eastern part of her dominions, she employed every effort to bring under subjection to her yoke those of little Tartary. The conquests of Prince Dolgorouky had disposed a great number of the inhabitants of the Crimea to favour the Russians. The new Khan, Dewlet-Gherai, remained faithful to the Ottomans: part of his people refused to obey him. Peace was already concluded between the Turks and Russians; but the Tartars were still fighting. The Russians scattered among them presents and dissension. They secretly stimulated them to revolt. They even sometimes supported them by force of arms. All of a sudden they appeared in the Crimea with recruited strength; and under pretence of attempting to surprize Dewlet-Gherai, they took care to furnish him with the means of escaping. Dewlet-Gherai availed himself of the opportunity. But scarcely had this Khan fled from his country, when the Russians had Sahim-Gherai elected in his place, whose easiness of temper and attachment to Russia they were well acquainted with.

A. D. 1776. The Russians quickly constructed a fortress between Kerch and Jeni-Kalé. The Turks, incensed at the revolution in the Crimea, and at the usurpation of the Russians, threatened to have recourse to arms. The imprudent and feeble Sahim-Gherai, at the instigation of a Russian agent, who resided in his vicinity, sent a deputation of six myrzas to Petersburg. This homage was too flattering to the pride and ambition of Catharine not to be cordially accepted. She already perceived in those myrzas new subjects arrived to tender her the oath of allegiance. She treated them with distinction; and at the

the moment they were going to be conducted to an audience, they were arrayed, by order of the Empress, with magnificent castans. They requested her protection to their Khan, fatal protection, which that unfortunate Prince purchased at a rate much too dear!

Mareschal Romanzoff had already received orders to assemble an army on the banks of the Boristhenes. Every thing seemed to threaten a rupture between Russia and the Porte. But Prince Repnin, ambassador extraordinary from the Empress at Constantinople, succeeded in cooling for some time the resentment of the Divan. This was what Catharine wished. She only wanted to have time to prepare for fighting with advantage. War was necessary to her projects of invasion.

Incessantly preoccupied with her grand designs, Catharine appeared, sometimes, to be entirely engrossed in the pursuit of pleasure. Her time was so skilfully apportioned, that she contrived to have a sufficiency for transacting business with her ministers, for devising new plans of legislation, for writing with her own hand the orders dispatched to her ambassadors and generals, for maintaining a regular correspondence with men of letters and artists, for steadily giving audience to her subjects, for participating in all the amusements of her court, and for managing her amorous intrigues. Constant to the calls of ambition, she was frequently faithless in love, and the arts of coquetry were as dear to her as to the rest of womankind.

Scarcely had she returned to Petersburg when Potemkin ceased to be the object of her tender affections. She loaded him with benefits: it appeared as if she had not honours and dignities sufficient to lavish upon him. She professed to love him, and him only, and her heart was already decidedly bestowed on another. A young Ukrainian, named Zawadoffsky, was secretly in possession of her favours. She began with making him her secretary. Almost immediately

mediately she openly avowed him to be her favourite. This change produced a scene very extraordinary at the court of Catharine. When she had once issued an order, there was an apparent impossibility of its remaining unexecuted. She insisted, in every case, on being obeyed. Now it is well known that the disgraced favourite always received orders to set out upon his travels, and that he was never more permitted to present himself to the Empress till she vouchsafed to recal him. The lofty Orloff himself had submitted to this regulation. Potemkin had the boldness to neglect it. When he received the fatal order he feigned compliance, and next day came and very calmly took his place opposite to the Empress at the moment she was going to make up her party at whist. Without expressing displeasure at Potemkin's presumption and disobedience, Catharine held out a card to him, and told him he was a very fortunate player, without saying a word more about his withdrawing from court. Potemkin retained his honours, his employments, his credit, and from being the lover, became the friend of the Empress. Zawadowsky possessed the art of pleasing; but Potemkin had rendered himself useful, and his genius, more analogous to the genius of Catharine than that of any other of her lovers, ceased not to maintain its ascendancy.

Orloff, however, who had been informed rather too hastily of Potemkin's disgrace, flew to Petersburg. There he found his rival still enjoying, not the love, but the confidence of the sovereign. Orloff believed it possible for him to recover that confidence, while a lover, young and unacquainted with politics, occupied the heart of Catharine: he was speedily undeceived. He made his appearance at court, kissed the Empress's hand, and observing Potemkin in habits of intimacy with her, instantly withdrew and found his way back to Moscow.

Courtiers the most habituated to study the Empress,

press, could not divine which was the preferred lover. They did not believe that Potemkin would tamely surrender the claims which he had upon the heart of that Princess: they forgot that in the presence of ambition love is mute.

Panin seemed to be plunged more deeply than ever into his unfeeling indolence. But the Empress permitted him to continue in his employments, both because his long services merited that recompense, and because he stood connected with a very powerful party. That party earnestly wished to see the Grand-duke redemand a throne which of right belonged to him, and would undoubtedly have strained every nerve to support his pretensions. But the longanimity of the Prince, and the respect he bore to his mother, repelled every ambitious idea. The Empress, nevertheless, who sometimes forgot what her son had no wish to attempt, and dwelt on what it was possible for him to do, was not free from anxiety. She dreaded all those whom she believed capable of suggesting bold counsels to that Prince, and much more still those who could arm in his behalf.

These apprehensions had not escaped the penetration of the King of Prussia. From the heart of Brandenburg he discerned every thing that passed through the soul of Catharine, and dextrously took advantage of it. He knew that he himself was the only person who could effectually support the rights of the Grand-duke. Accordingly, whenever he wished to make the Empress adopt his views, he never failed to express the cordial interest he took in her son. The suspicions of Catharine were roused, and, in order to preserve Frederick's friendship, no sacrifice seemed too dear.

The Grand-duke had conceived a warm attachment to Count Andrew Razoumofsky. He admitted him into all his parties, and reposed entire confidence in him. The Empress, who well knew the daring spirit of Razoumofsky, took the alarm at this

intimacy, and resolved to break it off. Razoumoffsky himself furnished her with an opportunity. Catharine remarked some signs of a good understanding between him and the Grand-dutchess. She had no difficulty in believing that Razoumoffsky had the assurance to entertain loose ideas on the person of the Princess, and hinted it to the Grand-duke. That Prince could not be persuaded there was any foundation for his mother's suspicions; but, without retracting his kindness from Razoumoffsky, resolved within himself to observe his deportment, and recommended to his consort to maintain the strictest reserve. Whether it be that in truth the Grand-dutchess already had some inclination for Razoumoffsky, or whether the restraint imposed on her actually inspired that inclination, she kept up a secret correspondence with him. It is alleged she went still farther: she meditated revenge against the woman who had insinuated a suspicion of her virtue to her husband, and engaged in political intrigues, which could not fail to be offensive to the Empress. Whether her projects had a foundation in truth or not, she was not allowed time to put them in execution: she died in child-bed. The loss of her drew down on Catharine the imputation of one crime more.

As soon as the Grand-dutchess had breathed her last, the Empress put on the semblance of being overwhelmed with grief, and retired to Tzarisko-Zelo, taking the Grand-duke with her. That Prince was penetrated with unaffected sorrow. Nevertheless, after his depression was somewhat abated, he examined the papers of his consort, and found among them Razoumoffsky's letters. He immediately carried them to his mother, and demanded vengeance on the man who had dared to disobey her orders. The Empress, afraid that this correspondence might make too much noise, and not willing to break with the son of the hetman who had formerly served her so well, gave way however to the resentment of the Grand-duke.

But

But instead of sending Razoumoffsky to Siberia, she exiled him to Venice, with the title of envoy extraordinary. Razoumoffsky had already been entrusted with embassies of importance. He was sensible that this new mission proceeded from displeasure. He did not hesitate at the same time to accept it. The Empress afterwards appointed him her minister at the court of Naples. He was still in that city when the Grand-duke travelled through Italy; and it was remarked, that during his residence at Naples, the Prince sent a prohibition to Razoumoffsky to appear in his presence.

A few days before the death of the Grand-dutcheffs Prince Henry of Prussia arrived at Petersburg. Frederick being informed, that while the business of the demarkation of Poland was going forward, the commissaries of the partitioning powers could agree neither among themselves, nor with the Poles, had desired his brother to go and confer with the Empress, and terminate the differences which were diligently fomented between the court of Russia and that of Prussia. Prince Henry hastened to procure him that satisfaction.

The same honours were paid the Prince as on his first visit to Russia. He entered the capital at a very late hour. It was the evening before Easter. The Empress, ever disposed to flatter the superstitious propensity of the multitude, passed the greatest part of the night at church with all her court. Prince Henry did not see her till the day after. He had frequent conversations with her in private, on the subject of the obstacles which retarded the settlement of Poland, and found little difficulty in removing them. It was in one of those conversations that the Empress having started some objections, the Prince suddenly made this reply:—"Madam, I perceive a certain method to terminate every dispute. It will not perhaps be acceptable to you, out of consideration for Poniatowsky; but you ought to approve of it,"

“ it, for it is possible to tender an indemnification of
“ much more value to that monarch, than the throne
“ which is incessantly tottering under him. The rest
“ of Poland must be divided.”

This idea was congenial to the soul of the ambitious Catharine, and the annihilation of Poland was determined.

Scarcely were the funeral obsequies of the Grand-dutcheſs performed, when the Empreſs bethought herself of providing another bride for her ſon. She told Prince Henry that ſhe had caſt her eyes on the Princeſs of Wurtemberg, his niece, and that ſhe wiſhed to ſee her united to the Grand-duke.

The Princeſs of Wurtemberg was already promiſed to the hereditary Prince of Darmſtadt. But Prince Henry, judging that the empire of Ruſſia would be a much more valuable object for her than the landgraviate of Heſſe, went to work immediately to diſſolve her prior engagements. He diſpatched a courier to the King of Pruſſia to inform him of the Empreſs's intentions, and to requeſt his co-operation. Frederick did not hesitate a moment. The union propoſed by his brother was too favourable to the project of more cloſely connecting Ruſſia and Pruſſia, to admit of any thought of difficulty as to the means of effecting it. He knew of the paſſion with which the Princeſs of Wurtemberg had inſpired the Prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt; but, when political intereſts were to be promoted, what ſignified love in the eſtimation of Frederick? He himſelf talked to the young Prince, and ſo dextrouſly managed his aſcendant over him, that the lover was made to believe his duty and his glory were concerned in making the ſacrifice of his affections.

Sure of the acquieſcence of the Prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, Frederick diſpatched the neceſſary inſtructions to Prince Henry, and intimated that the family of the Princeſs of Wurtemberg could never think of oppoſing the elevation of their daughter.

He

He at the same time invited the Grand-duke to pay him a visit at Berlin, as he wished, before matters were brought to a conclusion, that the Prince might have an opportunity of seeing his intended consort. He was himself very happy to lay hold of the present occasion to procure a personal interview with Paul Petrowitz.

The Empress, perfectly satisfied with all these arrangements, made very considerable preparations for her son's journey to Berlin in company with Prince Henry. She assigned 40,000 roubles to defray the Princess of Wurtemberg's travelling expenses. She sent for Mareschal Romanzoff to Peterburgh, from his residence at his government of the Ukraine, and charged him to attend the Grand-duke to Berlin. "To the friendship of Prince Henry," said she, "and "to the zeal of the most illustrious supporter of my "throne only, could I have confided the person of "my son."

The Grand-duke set out first from Tzarsko-Zelo; Prince Henry took leave of the Empress next day. Whatever might be the real sentiments of that Princess, she discovered very powerful emotions at the moment of separation. Scarcely had they joined company at Riga when they received several letters from her. The following is a copy of that which she wrote with her own hand to Prince Henry.

"I take the liberty to forward to your Royal Highness the four letters which I mentioned, and which "you will have the goodness to take under your "charge. The first is for the King your brother, "and the others for the Princes and Princesses of "Wurtemberg. Permit me to entreat, should the "heart of my son declare in favour of the Princess "Sophia-Dorothea, as I have no doubt it will, that you "would deliver the last three according to their address, and support their contents with the persuasive "eloquence God has bestowed on you.

"The

"The convincing and repeated proofs of friendship which you have given me, the high esteem I have conceived of your virtues, and the extent of confidence with which they have inspired me, permit me not for a moment to doubt of the success of an affair which I have so much at heart. Could I have entrusted it to better hands?"

"Your Royal Highness is assuredly a singular negotiator: pardon my friendship this expression. But I do not believe there ever existed an instance of a transaction of this nature, conducted as it has been, for it is the production of friendship and of confidence the most unreserved.

"This Princess shall be the pledge of it. I shall never be able to look upon her without recollecting in what manner the business commenced, proceeded and terminated, between the royal house of Prussia and that of Russia. May it perpetuate the union subsisting between us!"

"I conclude with thanking your Royal Highness, in the most affectionate terms, for all the attentions you have paid, all the pains you have taken; and I entreat you to rest assured that my gratitude, my friendship, my esteem, the high consideration in which I hold you, shall terminate only with my life."

"CATHARINE.

"*Tzarſko-Zelo, 11th June 1776.*"

After having passed twenty-four hours at Riga, and reviewed the evolutions of several regiments encamped at some distance from the city, the two Princes repaired to Mittau, where they were entertained by the Duke of Courland. This duke was the son of the celebrated Ernest-John de Biren, who had just closed in tranquillity his long and tempestuous career.

The Grand-duke was received at Berlin with the honours due to the heir of the throne of Russia.

Priuce

Prince Henry presented him to the King, who had advanced to meet him as far as the door of his apartment. The Grand-duke, on coming into his Majesty's presence, addressed him in these terms:

"Sire, the motives which have induced me to come from the extremities of the north to these fortunate climes, are the desire of assuring you of the friendship which ought for ever to unite Russia and Prussia, and impatience to behold a Princess destined to mount the throne of the Muscovites. In receiving her from your hands, I can confidently promise that Princess will be more dear both to me, and to the nation over which she is called to reign. Finally, I obtain what I have long wished for; in contemplating the greatest of heroes, the admiration of the present age, and a prodigy to posterity."

Frederick hastened to reply:—"I do not merit, Prince, such an eulogium. You behold in me only a poor valetudinarian, with hairs silvered by age. But believe me, I consider myself singularly happy in receiving within these walls the respectable heir of a puissant empire, the only son of my best friend, of Catharine the Great."

The Prussian monarch then turned to Marechal Romanzoff, and added:—"Conqueror of the Ottomans, most welcome! I perceive a striking resemblance between you and my general Winterfield."

"Sire," replied the Marechal, "I should be flattered to resemble, even imperfectly, a general who has distinguished himself so gloriously in the service of Frederick."

"Ah!" replied the King, "you ought to value yourself much more on victories which will transmit your name to the latest posterity."

After half an hour's conversation with Frederick, the Grand-duke was introduced into the Queen's apartment, where the whole court had assembled.

There

There he saw the Princess of Wurtemberg. Their nuptials were immediately settled.

Festivals succeeded festivals at Charlottenburgh, at Potsdam, at Sans-Souci. But that which must have been most highly gratifying to Marechal Romanzoff, was the spectacle of the military exercises of the garrison of Potsdam. Frederick made his troops manœuvre by square battalions, in imitation of the bloody battle of Ragoul, in which 18,000 Russians, under the command of Romanzoff, had conquered 100,000 Ottomans.

Prince Henry afterwards carried the Grand-duke to Rheinsberg, where he entertained him with a banquet which lasted four days, and in which he displayed no less taste than sumptuousness.

On leaving Rheinsberg, Paul Petrowitz returned to Peterburgh. The Princess of Wurtemberg soon followed. She embraced the Greek religion, and was joined in wedlock to the Grand-duke. Twenty years after their marriage this couple mounted together the throne of Russia.

Catharine having given a second consort to her son, extended the boundaries of her vast empire, and extinguished the flames of sedition in the most distant provinces, seemed to have nothing left but to sit down quietly and enjoy the plenitude of her power. But a state of repose was not adapted to her ambitious soul; tranquil pleasures were not sufficient for her restless genius. She still eagerly panted for glory, or rather for celebrity, which she too frequently confounded with true glory; and there was nothing she would not have sacrificed to this insatiable appetite. When her armies ceased to gather laurels beyond her frontiers, Fame was constrained to prepare for her triumphs of a different kind. Europe resounded with the report of the dazzling acts of her munificence, of the encouragement she gave to the sciences and the arts, of the prizes she assigned to talents, of the benefits she conferred on foreigners, and of the numerous

merous institutions which she created to increase the industry and riches of her people. Certain flatterers, well paid for their labour, emphatically trumpeted abroad all these facts, and the echoing of gazettes multiplied the noise of them. The academy of Petersburgh, which reckoned among its members many men deservedly celebrated, but was not the least addicted to adulation of all academies, sometimes made the premature apotheosis of Catharine. When that Princess did not attend their sittings, they erected in the place which she would have occupied, a bust representing her, with the attributes of Minerva. It must be admitted, however, that Catharine did not, in every respect, resemble the chaste daughter of Jupiter.

Gregory Orloff, who had returned to court without being recalled, seemed to have been insensibly reconciled to behold Potemkin occupying the first place by the side of Catharine's throne. Potemkin, elated with the credit he possessed, and more solicitous to preserve unlimited power than the affections of the Empress, calmly permitted her to indulge her inclination toward Zawadoffsky. For eighteen months this last occupied the place of subaltern favourite, when all of a sudden his ambition caught fire. He had the example of Potemkin before his eyes. He believed it possible, like him, to pass from the arms of the Empress into the post of prime minister. But, in order to this, it was necessary to drive Potemkin from it. To this arduous undertaking he vigorously applied himself. He endeavoured to render the despotism of Potemkin hateful to the sovereign. He got himself seconded by discontented officers, by envious courtiers, by women of ability and intrigue. Potemkin, informed of those cabals, and more intelligent than his rival, resolved to supplant him. Chance almost instantly furnished him with an opportunity.

A young

A young Servian, named Zoritz, an officer of hussars, had come to Peterburgh to solicit preferment. He was tall, very finely formed, and every way calculated to excite the inclinations of a voluptuous woman. Potemkin, who was well acquainted with Catharine's inconstancy and violence of appetite, gave Zoritz a captain's commission, and made him throw himself in the Empress's way. She did not fail to distinguish him. The next day Zawadoffsky was dismissed. Zoritz replaced him.

Zawadoffsky, who had already received many substantial marks of Catharine's bounty, got at the moment of his dismissal a gratuity of 90,000 roubles; an addition of 4000 to his annual pension, and a considerable landed estate.

Zoritz at the same time received an estate in land worth 120,000 roubles, besides the usual presents; a great part of which the greedy Potemkin took care to squeeze out of him. This new lover, without education, without experience, could not possibly give umbrage to the lofty Potemkin. Content with ministering in obscurity to the pleasures of the Empress, the only advantage he derived from the favour he possessed, was to strengthen the credit of the man to whom he was indebted for it. It was with Potemkin alone that Catharine weighed the destinies of Europe.

BOOK IX.

Political Relations between Russia and Denmark—Imperious Conduct of the Russian Ministers at Copenhagen—Struensee—Bernstorff—Cession of Schleswig—Political State of Sweden—Gustavus III. at Petersburg—Treaty of Constantinople—Dismissal of the Favourite Zoritz—Rimsky Korzakoff succeeds him—Armaments of Russia—War between Prussia and Austria—Peace of Teschen—Armed Neutrality—Catharine's Excursion to Mohiloff—Joseph II. at Petersburg—Frederick-William at Petersburg—Dismissal of Korzakoff—Grand-duke's Travels in Europe.

FROM the elevation of Catharine II. to the throne of Russia, the court of Petersburg had never ceased to maintain political connections with that of Copenhagen, or rather to exercise a powerful influence over it. This influence, the work of Peter I. underwent some interruption during the administration of his successors. Catharine II. restored it to full vigour. That Princess did not inherit the animosity and the projects of Peter III. against Denmark: she attacked it neither with her squadrons nor her armies; but she knew how to keep the cabinet of that kingdom long floating between hope of obtaining the entire cession of Schleswig, and the fear of seeing itself deprived of that important possession.

A farther interest still held the court of Copenhagen attached to that of Petersburg: she could not believe herself to be perfectly secured against the ambition of the Kings of Prussia and of Sweden but by the alliance of Russia; for this reason she made continual efforts to draw still closer the bonds of that alliance. She has been frequently seen, under the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, to purchase, by pre-

sents, the good-will of the ministers and favourites of that Princess, and even sometimes to pension them. Could she then be less generous towards those of Catharine, or were they themselves more difficult than the former? Whatever might be the case, as soon as Catharine thought herself established upon her throne, she wished to domineer over Denmark as well as the rest of the north, and took no more pains to preserve a good understanding with that court.

She commenced by repaying with ingratitude the Count de Ranzau-Aschberg, who was minister from Denmark to Peterburgh in 1762. Ranzau, a witness of the preparations which Peter III. was making in order to conquer Holstein, attached himself to the party of the Empress, and even formed a close connection with Gregory Orloff. The Empress made use of him to co-operate with her in rendering odious the war which her husband was undertaking; and Orloff let him into the secret of the conspiracy forming against that Prince. Flattered with this confidence, Ranzau gave Orloff some useful counsels, and seconded him with all his power. The conspiracy was successful. Ranzau was at first favourably received by Catharine; but in a short time coldness, and even disdain, succeeded to the first emotions of satisfaction, and Ranzau, highly dissatisfied with the Empress and the favourite, took the road to Denmark again.

Catharine, who without doubt took pleasure in humiliating the court of Copenhagen, chose Saldern for her envoy extraordinary to that court. Saldern, born in Holstein of very obscure parents, had at first occupied a petty situation at Tritau, from which he had caused himself to be turned out for some misdemeanor: he afterwards went to seek his fortune in Russia. Intriguing and audacious, he introduced himself at the court, and succeeded there. When the Empress sent him to Copenhagen, he conducted himself with an insolence which recalled more forcibly

cibly his extraction, and the disgrace with which he had been dismissed from his first employment. He presumed to speak to the Danish monarch and to his ministers with a disgusting haughtiness. He wished for information on every transaction which was carrying on, and dictated, in a menacing tone, the manner in which it ought to be decided. It was Saldern who, contrary to the opinion of the council and the inclination of the people, determined the King of Denmark to travel through France and England; a journey the consequences of which have been so fatal to that feeble Prince and to his imprudent consort.

Saldern did not content himself with prying into the affairs of state, he intermeddled in the concerns of the King's household, and directed his most trivial actions. He placed around him persons upon whose devotedness he might depend, and banished all those who seemed to him of a contrary disposition. In a word, he exercised a despotism at the same time arrogant and descending to the minutest trifle.

When the Empress recalled Saldern from Copenhagen, she replaced him by Philosophoff, not less haughty, and not less jealous of maintaining the ascendant of his court. Philosophoff very soon acquired at Denmark the same credit as his predecessor. This was not, to say truth, very difficult. The monarch was silly, his council timid. The Russian minister had only to pronounce the name of Holstein, in order to behold every thing subservient to his will. We shall here produce an instance of the inquisitorial authority which Philosophoff arrogated to himself.

The Count de Saint-Germain was charged at Denmark with the administration of the war department. Living in a strict intimacy with the Count de Gortz, a very distinguished German officer, he offered him a situation in the Danish army, after having obtained the consent of the monarch to it. Philosophoff was informed of this; and whether it was that he had

some particular reason for disliking the Count de Gortz, or whather he did not chuse that an officer of merit should enter into the service of Denmark, he immediately wrote to the King:—"I have just learnt that you have offered an appointment in the service to the Count de Gortz. I have orders from my court to break off all communication with yours, and to quit Copenhagen, rather than permit that intriguing and dangerous man to fix his residence near you." Nothing farther was necessary to prevent the Count de Gortz from seeing the realization of the offers which had been made him.

However, the credit of Philosophoff diminished in proportion as that of Struensee increased, and it was not till the period of the bloody catastrophe of this last, that the Russian minister re-assumed his influence. Philosophoff at first made some vain efforts to remove Struensee from the court. He had against him a double motive of hatred: he knew that Struensee was in opposition to the Russian interest, and he could not forget that he had been the means of causing him to lose the favours of one of the prettiest women in Copenhagen. Besides, Philosophoff supported the old Count de Bernstorff, who was devoted to Russia, and excluded from the ministry by Struensee.

I will not attempt to retrace these intrigues in this place. It is well known what was the fate of Struensee, who, from being the physician, became the lover of the young Queen Caroline-Matilda, and prime minister, and whose haughtiness and imprudence created to him those enemies who shortly after dragged him to the scaffold. It is well known that the Queen herself was imprisoned, excluded from the throne, and exiled to Zell, where she died from excess of grief. The Russian minister beheld with joy the success of the conspiracy formed against Struensee and the young Queen, and reaped the fruits of it. The Queen dowager Julia-Maria, who had brought

brought about the revolution, held in her hands the reins of the state. That Princess was far from having for Russia so great devotedness as the unfortunate King under whose name she governed. But she was too sagacious not to be sensible of the necessity of keeping on good terms with Catharine and her intriguing minister.

Ranzau was dismissed. His active spirit gave uneasiness to the Queen, whom he had so faithfully served. But although she wished to remove him because she dreaded him, she pretended to adopt this measure only out of complaisance for Russia.

The old Count de Bernstorff was already dead. Philosophoff desired that the nephew of this minister should take the place of which he had been deprived. He thought him worthy of it, undoubtedly, from his attachment to Russia; the Danes must have judged that he was still more so, from the ability with which he has laboured for the happiness of his country.

Bernstorff was of a majestic stature, and had a noble figure. He distinguished himself from his early youth by his politeness, his modesty, the clearness of his understanding, and the most persuasive eloquence. In proportion as he advanced in years, his excellent qualities became more conspicuous, and procured him the general esteem of his compatriots. Living at court, and devoted to the study of politics, he was not less simple in his manners, nor less undistinguished in his conversation. Though a statesman, he was extremely sensible; though a minister, he faithfully kept his word. Diligent and indefatigable in business, he had a quickness of conception, and a happy manner of explaining his ideas. The enemy of flattery, indifferent with regard to pleasures, displaying an uncommon presence of mind, and a temper uniformly equal, he never allowed himself to be bluffed from pursuing the ends which he had in view. He was never seen puffed up by success, nor cast down by reverse of fortune. If he triumphed, he

knew that he would very shortly have new obstacles to surmount: if his designs miscarried, he discerned all the resources which it was still in the power of fortune to supply. His only fault was perhaps rather too great an attachment to his own opinions, which he always defended with warmth: but even this fault had the advantage of proving that Bernstorff did not deceive, and never wished to deceive. The issue of a family in the Eleclorate of Hanover, Bernstorff had a great predilection for the English nation. He likewise knew the regard which it was his duty to feel for the court of Russia. He was, notwithstanding, not the less just toward other powers, and did not the less zealously labour for the advantage of Denmark, to which he consecrated every moment of his life.

Scarcely had he entered into the ministry, when Bernstorff, faithful to the principles of his uncle, employed himself to obtain from Russia the cession of that part of Holstein over which she had maintained claims. He was not ignorant how far the corruption of the Russian ministers was interested in keeping Denmark dependant on them; but it was in the very excess of this corruption that he descried one of the methods of enfranchising her. He likewise knew that the pride of Catharine would with difficulty make her resolve to abandon the smallest portion of her states, and he undertook to make use of that very pride to persuade her to consent to that surrender. Philosophoff was first gained over. Several chiefs of the government, favourites, secretaries, sold their language or their silence. The covetous Saldern, seduced by considerable presents, did not hesitate to utter a language totally different from that which he had till then held, and took upon himself the charge of the negotiation. He represented to the Empress, that it was beneath her dignity to keep possession of a paltry principality, which rendered her dependant on the empire of Germany. The haughty Catharine,
who

who in effect felt herself wounded by this species of subjection, believed that a discourse, dictated by covetousness, was to be attributed only to the interest taken in her glory. She ceded, in the name of her son, all claims upon Holstein, for the counties of Oldenburgh and of Delmenhorst, which Paul Petrovitz abandoned at the same time to the Bishop of Lubec, Prince Frederick Augustus of Holstein Gottorp. The treaty of exchange was signed at Kiel, the 16th of November 1773.

That event occasioned the greatest joy at Copenhagen. The day on which the treaty was signed was celebrated there with the utmost magnificence. It was not observed in the same manner at Peterburgh. Catharine was not slow of perceiving that she had been the dupe of the skill of Bernstorff. Saldern, whose misconduct was easily proved, fell into disgrace. But the Empress consoled herself for the loss of Holstein by the assurance of possessing in Denmark a submissive ally, and always ready to give her assistance against Sweden.

More in the neighbourhood of Russia, Sweden has excited, by turns, the apprehensions and the ambition of the court of Peterburgh. Peter I. had resolved to annihilate that power, and the victories of Charles XII. did not prevent his carrying off from him four of his most beautiful provinces. The successors of this Prince have inherited his projects, and the Russian nation keeps up an implacable hatred against a people whom, in the end, she has vanquished, but who have caused her to purchase her conquests by oceans of blood. Every war against Sweden could not but give pleasure to that ferocious and revengeful nation. Every means of crushing her rivals could not but be dear to the court of Russia.

The Swedish nobles, divided into two factions, which are distinguished under the name of *Caps* and of *Hats*, have been by their dissensions but too favour-

able to the ambition of Russia. When, under the reign of the Empress Elizabeth, Count Panin was the minister of that Princess at Stockholm, the money which he scattered with profusion, and the connections which he formed, gave him an ascendant, of which he artfully availed himself to raise an opposition in the senate to the court. He directed the one by his intrigues, he restrained the other by terror. Count Ostermann afterwards imitated and surpassed him. More ardent, more active than Panin, he held Sweden in a sort of subjection; and it may with justice be affirmed, that during the life of Frederick Adolphus, the minister of Russia and the French ambassador reigned by turns in Stockholm. The end which the Russian minister had in view was, without doubt, to dispose Sweden to become a Russian province; but he flattered the nobles with the hope of forming a republic of it, under the protection of his sovereign, a project conceived a long time before by them and by Lord Carteret, ambassador from England.

On his accession to the throne, Gustavus III. humiliated at the influence of Russia and the authority of the senate of Stockholm, attempted to deliver himself from this double yoke.

The party of the Caps, who domineered in the senate, had also the preponderancy in the diet of 1772. Proud of the power which they had so frequently abused under Frederick Adolphus, they wished to extend its bounds under his successor, and prescribed to this monarch a form of oath different from that which the fundamental laws of the state exacted. Gustavus III. signed that form without reading it, reserving by that means to himself undoubtedly a pretext for breaking the engagement which he was forced to contract.

This Prince, who had already placed all his confidence in the Counts de Scheffer and de Salza, concerted

certed measures with them and the French ambassador Vergennes, and they traced together the plan of the revolution, as it was shortly after put in execution.

The diet was not slow in forming suspicions respecting the designs of the young King. They took umbrage that several officers went once or twice a week to the house of General Ramsay, who they knew was devoted to the court, and they forbid the regiment of guards to assemble itself to exercise, even upon the parade.

Not satisfied with these precautions, the diet excluded from the senate all the members who were in opposition to the ruling faction. This act of vengeance only served to reanimate the zeal of the ancient partisans of the King, and created him new ones; for several of the nobles who disliked the royal authority, dreaded it less, however, than they detested the tyranny of their rivals. The Count Axel Ferfen was of this number. Celebrated for his eloquence and for his attachment to the ancient constitution, he openly disapproved the innovations of the diet; but, slightly encouraged by Gustavus, he withdrew from Stockholm. The senator Hermanfon was less irritable, or more favourably received. His talents and his credit were necessary to the projects of the sovereign: he devoted them to his service.

However, Gustavus did not communicate to the persons who were to execute his plans of operation, except what it was requisite for them to know, in order to be enabled to second them properly. He wished at first to be assured of the fidelity of the chiefs of the army: but the greater part of them appeared too much attached to the ancient form of government, for him to venture to disclose to them the alteration which he meditated. Colonel Sprengporten and Captain Hellechius were the only persons on whom he thought he might reckon. He therefore resolved to cause a pretended revolt to break out in two distant provinces, in order that the diet might

might not perceive the preparations which he was carrying on in the capital.

Hellechius, on whom the King afterwards bestowed the rank of general and the name of Gustafskield, commanded at Christianstadt, a town of Scania. He lived amicably with the officers of the garrison, frequently gave them entertainments, and had not much difficulty in obtaining their promise to act in concert with him. They openly blamed the decrees of the diet, and declared in favour of the royal authority. The inhabitants of Christianstadt thought and expressed the same sentiments with them. The report soon reached Stockholm. The diet was alarmed, and commissioned Baron de Rudbeck, governor of the capital, to go and quell the murmurs of the Scanians.

In the absence of Baron de Rudbeck the command of Stockholm was confided to General Peshlin. He acquitted himself of his employment with a vigilance which disconcerted for a time the friends of Gustavus. Vain attempts were made to seduce him; his side was already taken.

Fortunately for the King, Baron de Rudbeck came to re-assume his command. He reported to his friends that he had been refused admission at the gates of Christianstadt, and that Captain Hellechius had just published a manifesto against the power which the diet arrogated to itself. The ruling faction resolved upon this to discover whether Hellechius acted by orders from the King, determining, if this was the case, to seize upon the person of that Prince.

Gustavus was too well versed in dissimulation, easily to allow himself to be penetrated. He replied sometimes with a presence of mind, sometimes with an air of indifference, which deceived all the emissaries of the diet; and baron de Rudbeck, who imagined he had formed a just judgment of him, publicly said, "That the personage was not in the least degree dangerous." However, the diet gave orders

ders that the garrison of Stockholm should be reinforced by the regiments of Upland and of Sudermania.

It is certain, that if these regiments had been allowed time to enter Stockholm the revolution could not have taken place, or oceans of blood must have been spilt. The guards were already dissatisfied that other troops had been summoned; and the inhabitants, who had all taken up arms, and were devoted to the King, would have joined themselves to the guards.

The moments became precious. Colonel Sprengporten, who had been dispatched to bring troops from Finland, and whose arrival was to serve as the signal to the King, had been detained, by contrary winds. He did not arrive, and time was losing in a dangerous expectation. General Salza, Scheffer, Vergennes, held a council, and determined Gustavus to accelerate his enterprize.

The execution was fixed for the day following. On the very day that this resolution was taken the King made his appearance at the opera, in the midst of all the nobles. He gave a grand supper to the court, and appeared in uncommonly good spirits. He afterwards withdrew to his apartment, and passed a part of the night in writing to his brothers and to some of his partisans.

After having finished these letters he went to visit several of the corps-de-garde, as he had already done for several nights, in order to accustom the soldiers not to be surprised at seeing him at an unseasonable hour. Returning to the palace, he went quietly to bed, and arose at his usual time. The Count de Levenhaupt, his master of the horse, having come to receive orders, he told him privately to hold in readiness a greater number of horses than was customary.

The senate assembled according to custom at ten o'clock in the morning. Half an hour afterwards, the soldiers who came to relieve guard advanced into the court of the castle. Scarcely had they entered it
when

when the King descended, ordered the gates to be shut, and addressed to his guards a very eloquent oration, inviting them to deliver their country from the tyranny of a few factious nobles. He protested that he was not ambitious of an absolute power, and that he only demanded an authority sufficient to re-establish order, and to cause the laws to be put into execution. That assurance, and the promise of liberally rewarding those who should second his enterprise, had all the effect which he expected from it. The guards replied by shouts of approbation. Gustavus made them immediately take an oath. The officers were constrained to follow the example of the soldiers.

Reckoning upon the fidelity of these troops, Gustavus ordered sentinels to be placed around the hall of the senate, and forbid that any person should be allowed to go out. He himself repaired to the grand corps-de-garde, and after having assembled the officers, related to them, in the presence of the soldiers, what had just taken place at the castle, and told them that he did not doubt he should find them animated with as much zeal as their brave comrades. All, with the exception of one, swore to maintain his cause.

Gustavus wished to go immediately and take possession of the arsenal. He called for his horses. Levenhaupt, who held them in readiness, was making preparation to conduct them to him, when the Baron de Rudbeck made his appearance, at the door of the stable, and ordered the groom to remain. "I have no orders to receive from you," replied Levenhaupt; "take yourself off, unless you wish that I should drive my horses over your body." The governor immediately hastened to the secret committee of the diet to make his complaint of Levenhaupt, and ordered the secretary Ellers to minute what he was going to dictate to him. Ellers, who was at that time doubtful of what had just taken place, looked gravely

gravely at the governor, and, instead of obeying him, shut the register, saying, he believed he had nothing more to write.

Gustavus repaired to the corps-de-garde of artillery, where all were eager to take the oaths to him. He caused the principal members of the diet to be invited to join him there, and at the same time sent detachments of soldiers, with cannon, to each gate of the city, in order to prevent the flight of any of the chiefs from whom he had to dread opposition. However, General Peshlin found means to make his escape.

The rest of the garrison of Stockholm very soon joined themselves to the troops which surrounded Gustavus. Several members of the diet likewise came to pay their obeisance to this Prince. The Baron de Rudbeck, and some others of the most unruly, were arrested. The Duke of Hessestein, whose party had promised him the title of regent, refused to take the oaths. But, being hardly an object of apprehension, he was liberated upon his parole.

Those who took the side of Gustavus tied a white handkerchief round their left arm. In a short time all the inhabitants of Stockholm chose to decorate themselves with this token of allegiance to their King, and the officers of the Swedish army wear it to this day. It was likewise worn by the assassin who afterwards caused his death by firing a pistol on him from behind.

The people ran in crowds in the passage of the King. Several times this Prince stopped to harangue them, and to recommend order and moderation. These exhortations were not in vain.

As soon as Gustavus was master of all the posts of the city, and sure of the devotedness of the inhabitants and of the soldiers, he assembled the members of the diet in his palace, and after having reproached them for their dissensions and ambitious vanity, he said:—"It is at last time to liberate the Swedish nation
" from

“from servitude, and the throne from oppression. “It is time to put a stop to the corruption which dishonours the greater part of those who sit in the diet and in the senate. It is well known that they are always disposed to sacrifice to the gold of foreign reigns the interest of their country. If any one amongst you can deny what I advance,” added he, rising up, “let him speak and contradict me.” No person presumed to make any reply.

Gustavus then read the plan of the constitution which he had himself formed. Every one listened in the most profound silence. When he had finished reading he requested the opinion of the states, and invited them to make their observations freely, in order to correct any thing in his plan which might be defective. But not a single person made any objection. Those who, in the bottom of their hearts, the most disapproved of the monarch, were very far from venturing to make their sentiments known.

The new constitution was not adopted till the third day after the revolution. Gustavus then ordered the senators to be released, who during three days had not been permitted to quit the hall in which they had been detained prisoners. The greatest part of them obtained places in the new senate. All the officers who had followed the King's party were advanced in rank, and decorated with the military order. The principal inhabitants of Stockholm received medals of gold or silver, and the liberty of wearing them with a white ribbon at their button-hole. The inferior officers likewise were presented with a medal suspended from a blue ribbon. The soldiers were not forgotten: Gustavus, who was but very scantily furnished with money, gave them all that he had it in his power to bestow.

When the members of the faction in opposition to the King were recovered from their first alarm, they saw, with not less mortification than surprise, that this monarch had made use of but very feeble means

means in order to vanquish them. Ought it not indeed to have appeared strange to them, that at the instant when the diet was mistress of all the forces in the kingdom, and filled with enlightened men, they allowed their power to be wrested from them by a young Prince who had only three or four hundred soldiers, and who was looked upon as a trifler?

One of the men to whom the revolution gave the greatest affliction was Count Ostermann, the Russian minister. It had escaped his penetration, and it deprived him of a considerable part of his influence. In order to recover that influence, he incessantly encouraged the malecontents again to free themselves from the yoke of the royal authority, to cause the regiments to march who continued faithful to them, and to convoke a new diet in some distant province.

The turbulent chiefs of the Caps were but too much disposed to adopt these dangerous measures. Gustavus apprehended it; and for that reason employed stratagem to restrain the factious. He caused a report to be spread, that a very considerable body of troops, under the command of General Sprengporten, had just arrived at a few miles from Stockholm, and during several days successively he sent away sloops laden with provisions for these supposed troops. At last the winds permitted Sprengporten to quit the coasts of Finland. He conducted to Gustavus a detachment from the garrison of Sweaburgh; but when he arrived every thing at Stockholm was already in tranquillity.

The provinces very soon followed the example of the capital. The regiment of Upland, summoned by the diet, was ready to enter Stockholm. General Ramsay went alone to meet it, and, notwithstanding the resolution of some officers, he succeeded in causing it to take the oath of fidelity to the King. The Duke of Sudermania and the Duke of Ostrogothia, brothers

brothers of this monarch, had been dispatched into different parts of the kingdom, and easily obtained the adherence of the troops. General Peschlin alone gave them some trouble; he was arrested by the major of his own regiment, and the Duke of Ostrogothia received orders to send him prisoner to the castle of Gripsholm.

The money which Gustavus received from France served to strengthen his party, and to diminish the influence of Russia, which did not fail however to scatter roubles amongst her creatures. Catharine learnt with chagrin the alteration which had just begun to take place in a country she wished to continue in a state of division, that she might bring it into subjection sooner or later. She gave Count Ostermann orders to set to work to re-establish the government which Gustavus had destroyed. That minister laboured to this effect with boldness; but his efforts were fruitless. Some explanations which he had with Gustavus terminated in ill humour; and at the commencement of 1776, Russia having formed an armament of galleys at Cronstadt, the alarm immediately spread itself over Stockholm.

Gustavus demanded what could be the cause of that armament. The reply he received was but little satisfactory. The galleys were not meditating an attack upon Sweden, but the uneasiness of the King did not abate. At last, wishing to know what were the real designs of the court of Russia, he resolved himself to go and hold a conference with the Empress. He repaired to Petersburg, under the name of the Count de Gothland, accompanied by Count Ulric Scheffer, Count de Poffe, de Munck, and some more of his courtiers. Baron de Holken alone, his ambassador to the court of Russia, was forewarned of this journey. Gustavus alighted at the house of this minister, and went almost immediately to pay a visit to Count Panin.

The

A. D. 1777. The Empress was at Tzariko-Zelo. Gustavus repaired thither in the afternoon. He had an interview with this Princess, in which they displayed towards each other a cordiality equally disembled.

Entertainments were lavished on the Swedish monarch. There were others likewise suppressed on his account. Catharine had the delicacy to forbid the celebration of the festival instituted on occasion of the battle of Pultava, on the anniversary of which Gustavus was at Peterburgh, and which might have recalled to him, in too forcible a manner, the defeat of Charles XII. and the calamities of his country. The Empress wished to inspire Gustavus with an exalted idea of the magnificence and the pleasures of her court. She frequently conversed with him, carefully studied his character, and discovered in a short time that presumption was his principal failing.

Proud of this discovery, Catharine immediately proposed to herself to take the advantage of it, by exciting Gustavus to undertake some dangerous enterprise. His qualities, rather brilliant than solid, his affability, the pleasures which he multiplied at his court, had till then rendered him dear to his country; but a moment of imprudence might render him odious to it. The following is the method which the Empress employed in order to hasten this moment. In conversing with Gustavus, that Princess spoke of the obstacles which sovereigns have to contend with when they wish to bring civilization to perfection in their states, and to make any alteration in the dress, the usages, and the manners of the people. She observed, that it was not only difficult to effect these alterations, but very dangerous to attempt improvement in too hasty a manner. She said, with truth, that men, being in general the slaves of custom, could not behold new institutions without repugnance; and she adduced in favour of her opi-

nion the example of Peter I. and the resistance which this Prince met with when he only attempted to persuade the Russians to shave themselves.

Gustavus replied, that if sovereigns did not succeed in the alterations which they wished to effect, it was without doubt rather their own fault than that of the people; and that however the latter might be attached to their customs, they would willingly make a sacrifice of them to a monarch who understood how to make himself beloved. He remarked, that men set much less value on their usages than on their fortune, on their life, and that, nevertheless, they frequently exposed both the one and the other, from attachment to their sovereign. "But," added he, "there is in every thing a season, which we must know how to make choice of. When we fail in this, it is from want of attention, and then the success is not answerable to our efforts. There is also a certain manner of executing things; and it is because Peter the Great possessed neither that manner, nor the attention necessary for seizing upon the favourable moment, that he experienced the difficulties of which the Empress has been just speaking to me."

Catharine added new reasons to those which she had already given. She prolonged the discussion till Gustavus thought his self-love interested to prove his assertions by facts: upon this she desired him to prevail on the Swedish nation to assume a new dress.

The monarch accepted the challenge; and some time after his return to Sweden, introduced the theatrical dress, which is still worn at the court of Stockholm. He did not, to say the truth, pass a law to oblige it to be worn; he contented himself with addressing to the governors of the provinces a letter, in which he recommended it to them to employ only mildness and persuasion. He pretended that the absurd costume which he invented resembled that of the ancient Swedes. At the same time he took care to propose

propose it only to the courtiers, public officers, the military and the citizens; the inferior class of the people was not so much as invited to assume it.

The residence which Gustavus made at Peterburgh did not augment his esteem for the Empress; and strengthened in her the desire of humbling this young and turbulent rival.

It appeared that for some years excursions to Peterburgh were become fashionable. A short time after the King of Sweden had taken his departure the Dutchess of Kingston made her appearance there; so celebrated for her beauty, her luxury, and the scandal of her adventures. That woman thought herself worthy of living at the court of Catharine: but the Empress was apprehensive of finding in her either a rival whose indiscreet pretensions would render her troublesome, or a confidant who would very soon divulge her secrets. She gave her a cold reception, and the Dutchess, in displeasure, took the road to Italy, where she was certain of being able to find companions less haughty, and hungry worshippers.

Since the election of the Khan Sahim-Gherai, the disturbances of the Krimea had not ceased. The Turks, in indignation at the flight of Dewlet, abandoned him, and nominated Selim-Gherai to succeed him. It had then two Khans: one was supported by the Turks, the other by the Russians: Those latter, who wished to give the whole Krimea to their *protégé*, in order that they might plunder it with the greater facility, furnished him with a guard composed of their own soldiers: the Tartars were jealous of that guard, and massacred a part of them.

A. D. 1778. This was without doubt sufficient to rekindle the war. The Empress immediately sent fresh troops into the Krimea. Prince Prozoroffsky, who had the command of these troops, attacked the Tartars in opposition to Sahim-Gherai, and routed

them. His competitor Selim was obliged to fly toward the mountains.

During this period Staschiew, minister of Russia at Constantinople, solicited the Porte to acknowledge Sahim-Gherai: but the Porte, faithful to her engagements, faithful above all to her pride, chose only to support Selim.

Mareschal Romanzoff upon this announced to the Divan, that the Crimea had placed itself under the protection of Russia, and that the Empress would rather renew the war than abandon Sahim-Gherai. Such a degree of haughtiness was little calculated to gain the Turks. They appeared indignant, and determined to proceed to take up arms. But a foreign influence prevented them. A French ambassador had persuaded them to commence the last war; his successor prevented their undertaking a new one. When the Russian minister proposed quitting Constantinople, the principal part of the Ulemahs and the Riglialis who composed the divan opposed his departure.

The ministers of other powers were at the same time warmly carrying on negotiations with the divan, and this council continued wavering between the divers impulses which were given to it. Witnesses of its tardiness and indecision, the Russians became in consequence only the more active and more determined in their projects. By dint of gifts and promises they raised themselves new partisans in the Crimea, and concluded by enslaving that country, whilst nothing was talked of but its independence. In making preparations for war, they were seeking however to prevent it. Mareschal Romanzoff had an interview with the celebrated Capitan-Pacha Gazi-Hassan, but could not succeed in coming to any satisfactory terms. They separated with mutual displeasure.

The Empress reckoned upon an aid which she
alone

alone seemed to possess the power of procuring to herself. She had obtained from the regent of Persia, Kherim-Khan, a promise to attack the Turks in Asia, whilst she should subdue them in Europe; but the death of this Prince, who was assassinated by one of his officers, saved the Ottomans from a double aggression.

Catharine was more fortunate in the measures which she adopted to bring about a peace. The divisions which disturbed Germany respecting the succession of Bavaria, and the war which had just broke out between France and England, did not permit these powers to continue to attach a great interest to the quarrels of the Turks and the Russians. Even those which had first persuaded them to take up arms counselled them to lay them down, and wished that Russia might be at liberty to adopt a common cause with them.

However, the divan still remained in indecision. The people of Constantinople desired war. Some murmurs were even heard to break forth against the Capitan-Pacha, because he had returned into the sea of Marmora, without having engaged the Russians.

The Russian minister, Staschiew, was attacked near Constantinople by two galiongis, who made an attempt to massacre him. The Capitan-Pacha ordered them to be arrested and strangled immediately. But their attempt did not the less prove the dispositions of the multitude.

The Turks forgave Russia with so much the more difficulty her successes and her invasions, that they recalled to them incessantly their multiplied defeats, and the humiliating peace which they had been obliged to conclude. They could not reconcile themselves to behold the Russians almost absolute masters of the Black Sea, displaying their flag close under the walls of Constantinople, and extending every day their flourishing commerce. The inde-

pendence of the Krimea was sufficient to afflict them; its subjection to the Russians shocked them.

Some other differences had also arisen between the court of Petersburg and the Ottoman Porte. By the last treaty of peace, the Russians had caused a grant to be made of several privileges to the Greek Christians, scattered in considerable numbers over Moldavia and Wallachia. Upon this, several inhabitants of the other bank of the Danube abandoned their country, to pass into the provinces where toleration reigned. All these Christians were much more strongly attached to the power to which they were indebted for the new advantages they enjoyed, than to that which had for a long time oppressed them. Russia wished to go still farther: she was secretly labouring to render them altogether independent of the Porte; and in order to attain this she began by demanding, that the princes or governors of Moldavia and of Wallachia should not be deposed under any pretext whatever.

This enfranchisement appeared as unjust in the eyes of the Turks as the cession of the Krimea. However, the first exertions of the French ambassador had not been wholly without effect. Those which followed had still greater success. He persuaded the divan to order the release of several Russian vessels, which for more than a year had been detained in the ports of Turkey. A short time afterwards, a new treaty was signed through his mediation.

A. D. 1779. By this treaty the Russians desisted from some of their exaggerated pretensions respecting the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as the Krimea, which they promised to evacuate. The Porte granted to those of her subjects who professed the Greek religion the rights which they claimed. She acknowledged the independence of the Krimea and the sovereignty of the Khan Sahim-Gherai, and extended

extended still farther the privileges which the Russians already had of navigating on the Ottoman seas.

The zeal which the French ambassador displayed to accelerate the signature of this treaty, was founded on the desire which he had to see his court carry off from England the support of Russia. In this he succeeded. The strict alliance which had so long subsisted between London and Petersburg was, if not quite broken off, at least greatly weakened; and the French were assured that they should not see a power take up arms against them which was indebted to them for peace.

Catharine was so well satisfied with this peace that she sent to her minister at Constantinople, and to the French ambassador, very rich presents. She also caused to be presented to the Grand-signor and to the favourite more than the value of 300,000 roubles in jewels. The Grand-vizir and the principal members of the divan received like proofs of her magnificence and of that of Potemkin.

How great reason had the Empress at that time to felicitate herself upon a treaty which left her at liberty to give herself up, without opposition, to her views of invasion, always increasing, and to the care of extending the commerce of her vast states! The inequality of the climate, the scantiness of population, and the barrenness of a part of the soil, did not prevent these states from presenting immense resources to commerce. Placed upon Europe and Asia, the Russians can easily carry on a traffic with the whole world. The Caspian Sea serves them as a means of communication with Persia and India. The Sea of Zabacha and the Black Sea enable them to go and dispose of the productions of the north in the Mediterranean, and to bring back to the north those of the Levant. Kamtschatka opens to them on one side a passage into America, and on the other into China and Japan. Finally, the White Sea and the Baltic bring them into connection with the principal part of the nations

of Europe, to which their commerce is become indispensable.

* Free to navigate upon so many seas, and ruling over some, Catharine could not endure that any other power should claim the empire of the main; and one of the causes which contributed to detach her from Great Britain was the jealousy with which that nation inspired her, by insisting that the superiority of her flag should be acknowledged over the world.

However, the commerce of Britain was too advantageous to the Empress to suffer her to renounce it. In refusing the English her assistance she lavished caresses upon them. Whilst she saw them lose a part of their colonies, she invited them to come and seek in her ports the productions which they could no longer bear away from the continent of America, and she rejoiced to behold their vessels resorting in greater numbers to Archangel.

She received the Americans at the same time; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the British minister, she assured to them the free navigation of the Baltic, without choosing, it is true, to acknowledge their independence.

Some years before, she had concluded with the court of Versailles a treaty, according to which a French factory should have been established at Archangel. But the French, whose commercial views carried them almost entirely towards the Antilles, did not draw any advantage from this treaty. Time will perhaps teach them, that the commerce of the north, less destructive than that of hot climates, offers a profit, if not so brilliant, at least more equal and more certain.

I have not spoken either of the festivals which the Empress gave at the commencement of this year, and in the course of the preceding one, nor of the other events of less importance than those which I have described. There is yet time to return to them.

The

The anniversary of the accession of the Empress to the throne, and that of the birth of the Grand-duke, were celebrated at the same time with an extraordinary magnificence, and signalized by the promotion of a great number of general officers.

Catharine likewise celebrated with pomp the feasts of her divers orders of chivalry; and consented to discharge the functions of sovereign of the order of the Bath, to confer the insignia of that order on Sir James Harris, to whom the British monarch had sent them.

After having touched him on the shoulder with a sword enriched with diamonds, and having said to him, in conformity to the rules of the order, "In the name of God, be a good and loyal knight," she presented him the sword, adding, "To express how well I am satisfied with you, I make you a present of the sword with which I have conferred on you the order of knighthood."

Some days before, the Empress had given a grand entertainment in commemoration of the naval engagement at Tcheshmé, and the burning of the Turkish fleet.

This Princess, who believed herself at that moment on the eve of sustaining a new war against the Turks, wished to re-animate, by her presence, the zeal of her naval officers. She embarked in a yacht at Petershoff, and repaired on board the squadron which cruized between Cronstadt and Krasna-Gorca. Admiral Barsch, who commanded that squadron, received, as well as his officers, several marks of the satisfaction of the sovereign.

A fire consumed a considerable part of the city of Twer. The Empress immediately granted to the inhabitants whose houses had been consumed, an aid of 100,000 roubles.

Petersburgh suffered a disaster to which the benefits of the Empress could not present a remedy. One of the stewards of the brandy warehouses, named Loguinoff,

Loguinoff, who had prodigiously enriched himself, and had rendered but very unsatisfactory accounts, was obliged by Potemkin to give a feast to the inhabitants of the capital. The entertainer not only thought himself too happy to escape by this means the displeasure of government, but was in hopes that it would procure him some dignity. The provisions, the beer, the brandy, which he caused to be distributed, cost him 20,000 roubles. The people flocked in crowds to the place where this enormous repast was given; and notwithstanding the precautions which had been taken, disorder very soon began to reign among such a number of guests. They disputed about the meat and drink; they proceeded to blows. Several persons were killed; others were so drunk that they fell asleep in the streets and died of cold. At least 800 perished.

Notwithstanding her martial and political embarrassments, Catharine was always employed in peaceable institutions, and in pleasures. In the year 1764 she founded a house of education, under the title of convent of noble young ladies, and assigned to it an annual revenue of 80,000 roubles. In a short time the number of pupils was near 500. It was the Empress's pleasure, that those of the scholars who were of noble birth should learn foreign languages, and perform French tragedies and comedies; and this spectacle was, during some time, one of her amusements.

But there were other pleasures to which Catharine remained constantly attached. Although she frequently changed her lover, her inclination to love continued always the same. The Servian Zoritz had fixed her during a year, and had received considerable presents and the rank of major-general. Potemkin was neither jealous of the fortune nor the favours which Zoritz enjoyed: he supported him on the contrary, in the apprehension of seeing him succeeded by some more dangerous rival. Catharine herself
appeared

appeared every day more satisfied with her favourite. But all at once she sent him an order to quit the court.

Zoritz immediately hastened to complain to Potemkin, who took upon him to demand of the Empress what could be the cause of the disgrace of his *protégé*. "Last night I loved him; to-day I love him no longer," replied the Empress.—"Perhaps, had he been better educated, I should love him still; but his ignorance makes me blush. He can speak nothing but Russian: he must travel through France and England in order to learn foreign languages."

Potemkin respected the caprice of the sovereign. Zoritz took his departure for France.

The same day Potemkin, employing himself in looking out for a successor to Zoritz, and going to pass the evening at the hermitage, perceived with astonishment, behind the arm chair of Catharine, a chamberlain whom he did not know. This was Rimsky Korzakoff. From the obscure rank of serjeant of the guards, Korzakoff had been suddenly elevated to that of aid-de-camp to the Empress, and honoured with all the benefits which the generosity of that Princess usually lavished upon her favourites.

Korzakoff was endowed with a fine figure, and a very elegant air; but having neither wit nor understanding, it was not in his power any more than Zoritz's to undermine the credit of Potemkin. Besides, he disarmed his jealousy by sacrificing to his avarice. A single fact will suffice to unfold the character of Korzakoff. As soon as he had obtained the place of favourite, he thought that a man like him should of necessity purchase a library. He immediately summoned the most famous bookseller in Petersburg, and told him he wished to have some books, that he might place them in the palace of Waffiltschikoff, of which the Empress had just made

made him a present. The bookseller asked him what kind of books he preferred. "You know better than I do," replied the favourite; "that is your concern. Large books at the bottom, small ones a-top: this is the way they are placed in the library of the Empress."

It was not sufficient to have renewed peace with the Ottomans. The Empress was irritated against Austria, whose minister at Copenhagen had made vain efforts to engage the Porte to declare war with Russia. The moment of vengeance seemed to be on the point of presenting itself.

The death of Maximilian-Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, had furnished to the court of Vienna an opportunity of reviving her ancient pretensions with respect to that electorate. The Elector-palatine, Charles-Theodore, who succeeded Maximilian-Joseph, and who wished to avoid war, acknowledged the more than dubious rights of the house of Austria, and consented to allow Joseph II. and Maria-Theresa to take possession of Bavaria, the one as the Emperor of Germany, the other as Queen of Hungary.

The Duke de Deux-Ponts, who was the next male heir to the Elector Charles-Theodore, immediately exclaimed against a treaty which injured the rights of his house. The Elector of Saxony also pretended to a share in the succession of Maximilian-Joseph; and finally, the Duke of Mecklenburgh claimed a reversion granted to his family nearly three centuries back; and always eluded.

These three Princes united to solicit the King of Prussia to defend their rights, or rather he himself secretly invited them to commit their cause into his hands. Provoked at the aggrandizement of the house of Austria, and skilful at seizing every opportunity of securing the elevation of his own, he wished to display himself in the eyes of Europe as the supporter of the liberty, and of the constitution, of Germany. This monarch, who had formerly made a
jest

jest of being laid under the ban of the empire as the Elector of Brandenburg, pretended that Bavaria should not have been disposed of without the advice of all the Electors, and declared that he was resolved to maintain the Germanic constitution.

There was at first a very long paper war between Frederick and Joseph II. afterwards they proceeded to more serious conflicts. Four hundred thousand men drew the sword, and blood began to flow in the summer of 1778.

Upon this Catharine ordered Maria-Theresa and Joseph II. to be called upon to renounce the invasion of Bavaria, and to conclude peace. She declared at the same time, "That she was interested for the tranquillity of Germany, and as sovereign of a state which had natural relations with that part of Europe, and as being in the ties of friendship with the greater part of her Princes, above all, with him who had beheld himself under the necessity of taking up arms in order to arrest the proceedings of the court of Vienna.

"That, without dwelling on the political right of Germany, she adopted for her rule only natural equity, and the principles upon which all society is founded; that according to these principles she found the whole empire was unjustly in a state of commotion, because the house of Austria wished to procure a renewal of claims extinguished for centuries back, and omitted in the treaty of peace of Westphalia, a treaty which is the basis and the bulwark of the Germanic constitution; that the infractions of the court of Vienna exposed all the empire to an evident peril; that the downfall of that empire would necessarily cause a violent commotion in all the states adjacent to Germany, a derangement of the order and equilibrium of all Europe, and perhaps, in the course of time, even produce great danger to Russia; that every wise and prudent sovereign ought to foresee and to avert these misfor-

“ misfortunes, and that the court of Russia could not
“ adopt for this purpose other principles than those
“ which the court of Vienna had adopted on similar
“ occasions.

“ That, of consequence, the court of Russia in-
“ vited the Empress Queen and the Emperor to make
“ an amicable arrangement, conformably to the laws
“ and the constitution of the empire, with the King
“ of Prussia, and the other Princes interested in the
“ succession of Bavaria, because that, in the con-
“ trary case, the Empress of Russia would be obliged
“ to pay serious attention to what she owed to her
“ own empire, to the interests of the provinces which
“ had demanded her friendship and assistance; above
“ all, to her obligations towards her allies; and that,
“ in fine, the Russian troops would join themselves
“ to the Prussian.”

Catharine could easily put this menace into execution. She had at that time three armies in Poland; one of which, 40,000 strong, and under the command of Prince Nicholas Repnin, had already received orders to hold itself in readiness to march.

The court of Vienna had a presentiment of the designs of Catharine. Before her declarations were received, that court had dispatched a courier to invite her to become, in concert with the court of France, the mediators of the differences which had arisen between Austria and Prussia.

Immediately a congress was assembled at Teschen. The general destined to execute the vengeance of Catharine and Frederick, Repnin, appeared there as a pacific minister. Breteuil came in the name of France. The house of Austria obtained the part of Bavaria situated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Saltz, and peace was restored to Germany.

A. D. 1780. But whilst the north of Europe reassumed her tranquillity, the south still experienced the effects of the violent commotion excited, three years before, respecting the northern countries of America;

America. England, France, Spain, Holland, incessantly armed new squadrons, and dyed with blood the seas of the two worlds, in order to decide if the inhabitants of Boston and of Philadelphia should be free.

War, and above all, maritime war in Europe, always gives greater elasticity to the commerce of the north. It is from the north that the principal part of the materials necessary to the construction and to the victualling of naval armies must be furnished, as well as the supplies of grain, the consumption of which becomes then more considerable. The Dutch, for a long time in possession of the commerce of the Baltic, wishing to prevent the vessels which they employed there from falling into the hands of the English, made them navigate under the neutral flag of the Danes. But this flag was little respected by privateers, and the ships which bore it were frequently conducted to London or to Plymouth. Those of Hamburgh, of Bremen, of Lubec, shared the same fate. The merchants of those cities upon this implored the protection of Catharine; and the better to succeed with this Princess, they knew, in giving money to her ministers, how to persuade them to favour their cause.

Her own interest had already disposed her to this. She never lost sight of the means of extending the commerce of Russia; and in order to give it a greater degree of activity, she had just abolished the extraordinary duties upon grain, and permitted the exportation of it from Archangel as far as Riga. Besides, her pride was wounded that the English paid no respect to the vessels which loaded in her ports, and that they had even sometimes presumed to capture those which sailed under her flag.

Another motive completed her determination to protect the navigation of the north. Vergennes, whose intrigues at Constantinople had formerly irritated Catharine, had just acquired considerable consequence

sequence with her, by urging Saint Priest to persuade the Turks to consent to the sacrifice which Russia required. Vergennes had by this means succeeded in carrying off from the English the assistance of the Russian fleet. He conceived an idea more extensive and more worthy of a real statesman : he formed the project of the armed neutrality, to which almost all the powers of Europe successively acceded.

Well acquainted with the pride of the Empress, Vergennes knew how to interest her in the execution of his project. He caused it to be suggested to her by the ministers of Denmark and Sweden. It was presented to her with so much art, that she did not hesitate to adopt it; and she persuaded herself that she had been almost entirely the author of it, or at least she appeared to wish that others should believe so.

From this time she resolved to employ force in the protection of her shipping; she proposed to the courts of Copenhagen and of Stockholm to arm each of them a squadron which should join itself to her's, in order to defend their neutrality.

The wishes of Denmark had outrun this invitation. The prudent minister who governed that state, well understood the value of an alliance, without which the English would have laughed at the armaments of the north. He promised to subscribe to the treaty proposed by the Empress.

The court of Sweden was not so ready to accede to it : she was restrained by France itself, which artfully persuaded her to oppose some difficulties, in order to excite Russia to do them away. Before arming a combined fleet, Gustavus demanded an explanation respecting the manner in which that armament was to protect commerce. He wished to know if each neutral power would defend the vessels of their allies, or those of their own nation only. He finally demanded, in what case neutral powers should make reprisals on those which were at war, and if the aggressions

aggressions of one of these powers should be of necessity seconded by the others.

The Empress replied, that a preliminary convention should be held between all the neutral powers, to establish in what manner a free navigation ought to be secured to the merchantmen of those powers, provided these vessels were not laden with prohibited goods. She added, that each power must be obliged to protect the vessels of the others, and that with regard to reprisals or aggressions, they should be seconded, when they were made use of according to the conditions established by the confederated neutrality; but that, above all, this alliance should be maritime, and destined solely to the protection of commerce. In conformity to these ideas, she gave it in charge to the celebrated mathematician Epinus to commit the plan of it to writing.

Satisfied with those explanations, Gustavus gave orders to his minister at Petersburg to sign the treaty of the armed neutrality. The court of Denmark had preceded him by two days.

Vergennes had found means to cause a Russian vessel to be captured by a Spanish privateer. Upon this, Catharine waited not for the accession of Sweden and Denmark to make known her designs to the courts of London, Versailles and Madrid. Her ambassadors conveyed them a declaration, in which she complained that the rights of nations had been violated in the persons of her subjects; that their commerce had been restrained, their navigation interrupted; and that to prevent, in future, similar grievances, she was making preparations to sustain by force the rights which belonged to all neutral powers. The cabinet of St. James's hastened to reply, that from the commencement of the war orders had been given, in the most positive manner, to the commanders of vessels, to pay respect to the flag of Russia. Notwithstanding that assurance, the English continued for some time to capture Russian vessels, and to procure a

judgment from the courts of the British admiralty respecting the validity of prizes. The Empress challenged these tribunals. The contest was on the point of becoming serious, when the English put an end to it by releasing the vessels.

Prussia, Austria, and even Portugal, united themselves with the other neutral powers, and that naval confederacy acted as a powerful curb to the despotism of the nation which pretends to arrogate to herself the sovereignty of the seas.

The British minister at Petersburg laboured with warmth to break the league of the neutrality, or at least to prevent Russia from protecting the vessels of other nations. There is no kind of engine which he did not make use of with Potemkin: he lavished presents on his nieces, and gave to himself 50,000*l.* sterling, in order that he might persuade the Empress to alter her resolution. But the ascendant of Potemkin had still less influence over her than the counsels of pride. Besides, the skill of Sir James Harris was baffled by a stratagem sufficiently singular.

As soon as the minister had discovered that an attempt was making to persuade the Empress to propose the armed neutrality, he drew up a long memorial to oppose this project, and transmitted it to Potemkin, who promised to recommend it to the sovereign. Whether it was that the English minister thought he might take it upon him to boast of what he had just done, or whether it was mentioned by Potemkin, the partisans of the neutrality very soon got information of it. Immediately the minister of France, Verac, in concert with Panin, had recourse to a certain Miss Guibald, a very bold and artful girl, who lived with the nieces of Potemkin, and was on very familiar terms with the Prince. That girl secretly picked the memorial from the pocket of Potemkin. Notes were instantly taken of it, and another memorial drawn up, in which, without appearing to have

have had any knowledge of the first, it was completely refuted. The paper of Sir James Harris was as skilfully restored to its place as it had been drawn from it, and the other was presented to the Empress.

When Potemkin afterwards presented to the Empress the memorial of the British minister, she saw that it contained nothing which had not been replied to beforehand; this therefore only added to the desire she had to league the powers of the north against England.

Sir James Harris was soon informed of the method which had been employed to make use of his memorial against himself, and was so affected by it that he fell sick.

Potemkin enjoyed the highest degree of favour. Every day some new gift of the sovereign augmented his immense riches, and some title of honour was added to the long list of his dignities. The court, the army, the navy, all were in subjection to him. He placed ministers, generals, favourites, or displaced them at his pleasure; and caprice alone directed his benevolence or his censure.

With all the exterior of a vulgar, and frequently a brutal frankness, Potemkin was very artful. He governed the Empress by dictating his wishes to her with haughtiness, but appeared at the same time to breathe only for her service. He treated with insolence the most ancient generals and the grantees of the state, whom he thought he might insult with impunity, and kept on good terms with all those whose spirit and courage he stood in awe of.

Mareschal Romanzoff was almost the only general who would not abase himself before Potemkin. Accordingly, this last dreaded his inflexibility as much as he envied him the glory of being the conqueror of the Turks. The hatred which he bore to Mareschal Romanzoff extended even to the Countess de Bruce, his sister, one of the most intimate confidants of Catherine.

tharine. The ingrate forgot that the Countess de Bruce had been favourable to his first connection with that Princess. Living familiarly with the Countess de Bruce, and testifying the utmost friendship, he watched her discourse, her every step, and confidently promised himself to ruin her, if he could meet with an opportunity: all at once chance furnished him with it.

Korzakoff was at that time beloved of the Empress. The benefits, the honours with which she overwhelmed him, ought to have inspired him, if not with love, at least with gratitude; but he possessed only thoughtlessness and vanity. The Countess de Bruce, who saw him every day about the Empress, conceived an inclination for him: she could not however give herself up at first to this propensity. The constraint in which the lovers of Catharine lived, allowed them but little opportunity for infidelities. Potemkin assisted the Countess de Bruce to overcome every obstacle: he took upon himself the charge of being her confidant; he furnished her with the means of having secret interviews with Korzakoff; and although he had some esteem for the favourite, he resolved to sacrifice him, in the hope of involving in his ruin the sister of Romanzoff.

The project of Potemkin succeeded. The Empress was not slow of discovering that she was deceived by her favourite and by her friend. She immediately ordered the one to travel out of her empire, and the other to repair to Moscow. She resolved henceforth that she would not again have a female friend, but she could not so easily form the resolution to dispense with a favourite. The same day Lanskoï, a chevalier-garde, of the most beautiful and most interesting figure, was upon duty at the door of the Empress, when General Tolstoï was struck with his graceful mien, and caused his sovereign to remark it. From this moment the choice of Catharine was decided; and it will be seen in the sequel of this work, that of all her
lovers

lovers Lanskoï was the one whom she most loved, and who was the most worthy of being beloved.

Although Potemkin had not any share in the elevation of Lanskoï, he did not the less exact a tribute which he was accustomed to regard as lawful, and the new favourite thought himself too happy to purchase secretly his good will by a present of 200,000 roubles.

The covetousness of Potemkin was so excessive, that in order to extort money he was not ashamed to descend to the most contemptible baseness. Will it be believed that this man, so enormously rich, made use of a *carte-blanche* of the Empress to fabricate an order which enjoined the Prince Woesemsky, grand-treasurer of the empire, to pay him down 100,000 roubles? Woesemsky gave the sum, and afterwards shewed the order to the Empress, who, not less humiliated than surprised at the vile audacity of Potemkin, durst not even speak of it to him.

But the intrigues and stratagems of the courtier were not the sole occupations of Potemkin. This ambitious favourite flattered himself that he would cause the Empress to be crowned in Constantinople, and desired it still more ardently than she did, because he wished afterwards to reign there under the name of that Princess, and to render himself without doubt independent. He resolved to begin by taking possession of the Crimea: but in order to arrive at this, it was necessary to be in accord with the Emperor of Germany. He communicated to Catharine the design which he had of leaguering himself with this Prince. She did not hesitate to approve of it. When he afterwards proposed it in council, Panin, who was strongly attached to the alliance of Prussia, said that there would be great danger in detaching Russia from that power. Notwithstanding this the plan of Potemkin was adopted. Panin was so afflicted at it that he fell ill, and withdrew from the administration of affairs.

At this period Bezborodko was admitted into the council. Bezborodko had been at first secretary of Mareschal Romanzoff, with Zawadoffsky. As well as Zawadoffsky, he had become secretary of the closet to the Empress, but he had not been like him elevated to the post of favourite. He was nominated minister of the interior. Ostermann, who, since his return from Sweden, occupied the place of vice-chancellor, performed all the duties with which Panin had been long entrusted.

Catharine desired to have an interview with Joseph II. The projects which she had just adopted required that she should have a conference with that Prince. She begged him then to come and join her in Poland, and immediately took her departure for Mohiloff.

Perhaps it will not be useless to observe, that during her frequent excursions the Empress did not confide to the Grand-duke either the command of the capital, nor the administration of a single affair. Born generalissimo of the Russian armies, he never led a single regiment to battle; and, grand-admiral of the Baltic, he was not permitted once to visit the fleet at Cronstadt. Are these then the proofs of that maternal affection of which Catharine so frequently vaunted?

Panin, to whom the Empress usually delegated the dangerous honour of representing her, had for some time retired into the country. There, more overwhelmed with languor and discontent than with disease, and grown out of date rather than old, he was vegetating on the brink of the grave. Field-mareschal Alexander Michaelowitz Gallitzin was entrusted upon this occasion with the command of Peterburgh.

However, the Empress was already at Mohiloff, where Joseph II. had preceded her. A part of the grantees of Poland repaired thither. The pomp which surrounded Catharine, and the luxury of the Polish nobles, formed a whimsical contrast with the
simplicity

simplicity of the dress and manners of the Emperor of Germany. That Prince had taken the name of Count de Falkenstein. He entreated the Empress to dispense with all vain etiquette, and all troublesome ceremony: Catharine joyfully consented to it.

They had several secret conversations, in which they promised to attack the Ottomans in concert, to divide a part of their spoils, and to re-establish the ancient Greek republics. In order to determine the empire to enter into her views, Catharine consented to favour the exchange of Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands, with exception of the countries of Namur and Luxemburgh, and she engaged to support it against the opposition of the King of Prussia and the other Princes of the empire. A treaty, signed some time afterwards at Tzarsko-Zelo, confirmed these different promises. Catharine invited the Emperor to pay a visit to Russia; and this Prince, always fond of travelling and information, took the road to Moscow, whilst the Empress returned directly to Petersburg.

Although Catharine was not ignorant of the aversion which the Emperor had for luxury, she gave him entertainments of an extreme magnificence. But feasts made very little impression on Joseph II.: what occupied him the most was the care of visiting useful establishments, and the monuments of the arts. He had seen at Moscow, the Kremlin, the Khitaigorod, the hospitals for monks, the library and the archives of the history of the north, placed in such fine order by the learned Muller. He had stopped at Toulou to examine the manufactory of steel, on which Catharine has spared no expense, and which perhaps is not inferior, from the beauty of its productions, to the manufactures of England.

He likewise visited all that Petersburg and the port of Cronstadt presented as objects of curiosity. He examined in detail the arsenals, the dock-yards, the manufactures, and every where received some

flattering mark of the attention of the Empress. When he entered the academy of sciences, a volume of geographical charts was presented to him, among which was found already engraved that of his journey from Vienna to Petersburg. At the academy of the arts, he saw a collection of coins, on which was his portrait, with an inscription analagous to his inclination for travelling, and to his character.

At last Joseph II. quitted Russia, equally astonished at the mixture of refinement and barbarity which the Russian nation had presented to his view, and with the grandeur and the weaknesses of the Empress. He could not conceive how a woman, whose genius seemed to be formed to bring the whole world into subjection, should be, in the midst of her court, the slave of two favourites.

A short time after the departure of Joseph II. the hereditary Prince of Prussia arrived at Petersburg. His residence there had nothing remarkable in it. They gave him, indeed, banquets innumerable; but entertainments were not an extraordinary thing at the court of Russia.

Perceiving that so many Princes quitted their states to go and visit foreign countries, the Empress resolved to send the Grand-duke on his travels. Accustomed to the respect and to the moderation of this Prince, she no longer dreaded his absence; and she flattered herself that, in contemplating the heir of her throne, Europe would take a still greater concern in herself. The Grand-duke and Dutchess traversed Poland and Austria, and repaired to Italy, from whence they returned to Petersburg by
A. D. 1781. France and Holland. During the fourteen months that their travels lasted, the Empress was not ignorant of any thing which befel them. Almost every day a courier was dispatched to her, to inform her where they were, and what they were doing.

They had undoubtedly as earnest a desire to know
what

what was going on at Petersburg: but the Empress did not chuse that they should receive any information. Brigadier aid-de-camp Bibikoff, who presumed to brave the will of his sovereign, was not slow of being discovered. His letters, addressed to Prince Alexander Kourakin, who accompanied the Grand-duché, were intercepted at Riga. They contained minute details, rather too highly seasoned. The various personages of the court were there distinguished by names sarcastically characteristic, and their defects artfully exposed. Bibikoff was instantly condemned to go and repent of his temerity at Astrakhan, where he died soon after.

BOOK X.

Catharine II. tenders her Mediation toward a Peace between Britain and Holland—Bobrinsky—Protection granted to the Jesuits—Invasion of the Crimea—Death of Panin and of Gregory Orloff—Connection between Russia and Persia, China and Japan—Catharine wishes to support the Rights of Joseph II. to the Navigation of the Scheldt—Death of Lanskoï—Yermoloff Favourite—League of the Electors—Treaty of Commerce with France—Toleration Dinner—Momonoff succeeds Yermoloff—Catharine purchases the Libraries of Voltaire and of d'Alembert.

THE armed neutrality already covered the ocean with its flags. The Russian squadrons prosecuted their excursions even all over the Mediterranean. Commerce was effectually protected in all seas. The Dutch, who had hesitated to join the naval confederacy, were soon made to repent it. The court of London declared war, against them. The Empress however abandoned them not. She knew what

what a resource they had proved when she was obliged to negotiate loans, and what supplies she might still derive from them. She tendered her mediation both to them and to Great Britain. The Dutch accepted it joyfully; England dared not directly to reject it. But the ambitious policy of the cabinet of St. James's, for a long time past jealous of the commerce of the Dutch, found means, without giving offence to the Empress, to render almost useless her pacific intentions: peace with Holland was the last concluded.

The Russians became at length reconciled to the yoke of Catharine: but many of them detested it; and without entering into fruitless cabals, they madly exerted themselves to injure the Empress by hurting the empire. To that fatal intention we must at least ascribe the conflagrations which desolated the cities of Moscow and Peterburgh. Moscow beheld her famous Khitaigorod reduced to ashes, and lost three millions of roubles. Peterburgh was for three days successively the spectator of the burning of her beautiful magazines of Waffili-Ostroff, of 200 houses, and of many ships. Both of these disasters involved the loss of a great number of lives.

Another calamity, which appears to be the effect not of malignity but of ignorance, was the loss of two Russian ships of the line; the one of which went to pieces on the shallows level with the water off the isles of Hières, and the other on the rocks of the Krimea. Whatever pains had been taken by Peter I. and his successors to form good seamen, Russia possesses to this day but very few officers capable of commanding a ship of war. But for the Dutch, the Danes, and especially the English, her squadrons durst hardly venture to navigate out of the Baltic.

A. D. 1782. For a long time past, Gregory and Alexis Orloff had retired from court. All of a sudden they re-appeared, and found themselves almost strangers there. They had both married, and were just returned from travelling through France and Italy.

Italy. Gregory, unable to bear the sight of an all-powerful rival, soon absented himself once more.

Bobrinsky about this time returned to Petersburg. That beloved son, whom the Empress had by Gregory Orloff, seemed destined to attain the first dignities of the empire. But the vices which he contracted during his residence at the academy of cadets, and on his travels, rendered unprofitable both the tenderness of his mother and the attention she had bestowed on his education.

When Bobrinsky had finished his studies at Leipzig and Lausanne, Catharine was desirous of committing the entire charge of him to none but a man whom his understanding, his learning and his wisdom should render worthy of such a trust. In order to find such a man, she applied to Betzkoï, director of the imperial corps of cadets, and the most assiduous of flatterers. Betzkoï, who thought of nothing but the advancement of his own family, and who imagined that the natural son of Catharine would necessarily procure a great fortune to the person who might be employed as governor to him, assured the Empress that lieutenant-colonel Ribas, his son-in-law, was the only person qualified to fill this station. The Empress believed it. Bobrinsky, at that time gentle, modest, docile, was put under the tuition of Ribas, and thereby soon acquired that depravity of manners, and that insolence, which could not fail to be communicated to him by the lessons and the example of his profligate instructor.

After some time, Catharine wished Bobrinsky to travel through France and England; and had him accompanied by Bouschouyeff, who, unable to correct his morals, and unwilling to connive at his irregularities, left him at Paris, living with a common prostitute, and returned alone to Peterburgh. Bobrinsky was suddenly recalled.

Afflicted at the ill conduct of this son, the Empress suffered it long like an indulgent mother. But,
though

though she never sent for him to court, unless secretly, she was sensible that, so long as he remained in the imperial residence, she would frequently be put to the blush on his account, she determined to banish him to Revel.

During her excursion to Mohiloff, the Empress had observed that the people of White Russia who, for the most part, professed the Catholic religion, were very much attached not only to that religion, but to the order of Jesuits. Reflecting afterwards that there could be little danger in permitting these ecclesiastics to live in a corner of her vast estates, whereas, on the contrary, it was advantageous for her to flatter the prejudices of the inhabitants of her new provinces, she named as Catholic archbishop of Mohiloff the Lithuanian Sestrenkewitsch, an ancient officer of hussars in the service of Prussia, and gave him as co-adjutor a Jesuit called Benilawski. She at the same time permitted the establishment of a seminary of Jesuits, the direction of which was confided to father Gabriel Denkewitz, appointed vicar-general of his order.

A. D. 1783. Benilawski was presently dispatched to Rome, in quality of minister from the court of Russia. On demanding of Pius VI. the re-establishment of the society of Jesuits, he delivered him, in name of the Empress, a letter which, out of deference to the Greek Christians, she disavowed in the Petersburg Gazette, but which was nevertheless actually written with her own hand. The following are some extracts from it.

“ I know that your Holiness is under considerable
 “ embarrassments; but fear is little suitable to your
 “ character. Your dignity cannot harmonize with
 “ politics, so long as politics are at variance with re-
 “ ligion. The motives which have induced me to
 “ grant protection to the Jesuits, are founded in rea-
 “ son and justice, as well as on the hope of their be-
 “ coming useful to my estates. This assemblage of
 “ peaceable

“peaceable and inoffensive men shall live in my empire, because, of all Catholic societies, they are the best qualified to instruct my subjects, and to inspire them with sentiments of humanity and the genuine principles of the Christian religion.

“I am resolved to support these priests against every power whatever, and, in so doing, I only perform my duty, as I am their sovereign, and look upon them as faithful, useful and innocent subjects. I am so much the more desirous to see four of them invested with the power of confirming at Moscow and Petersburgh, that the two Catholic churches of those cities are confided to their care. Who can tell whether Providence is not going to make these pious men the instruments of effecting the union, so long desired, between the Greek and Roman churches? Let your Holiness banish all apprehension, for I am determined to maintain, to the full extent of my power, the rights which you have received from Jesus Christ.”

The ambassadors of France and Spain, astonished to behold at Rome a minister furnished with credentials from the court of Russia, employed all their skill to discover what could be the object of these negotiations. Pius VI. himself disclosed it to them, and demanded what answer he should return. Each of them consulted his own court on the subject, neither of which chose openly to interfere. The Pope transmitted to his ambassadors a brief, which declared null every thing done contrary to that by which Clement XIV. had suppressed the Jesuits. But at the same time he sent to Petersburgh the nuncio Archetti, who consecrated the archbishop of Mohiloff and his coadjutor, and consented, in name of the Pope, to all that Catharine requested. As the reward of Archetti's complaisance, that Princess asked for him, and obtained, a cardinal's hat. Perhaps the Empress laid the greater stress on this negotiation, that she flattered herself all the Jesuits in Europe and America

rica would flock to White Russia, bringing with them their treasures and their industry. But whatever might have been her expectations, the spoils of Paraguay did not find their way to Mohiloff. The Jesuits were too cunning to put themselves and their property into the hands of a Princess, with whose despotism and insatiable ambition they were perfectly well acquainted.

The Empress at last completed the division of her provinces, and they all enjoyed the benefit of the regulations which she began to introduce, in 1776, into the governments of Twer and of Smolensko. Every year of her reign was distinguished by conquests or by new institutions. The year 1782 had been so by the inauguration of the celebrated statue of Peter I. a production in which the genius of Stephen Falconet so happily seconded the intentions of Catharine.

The artist conceived the design of raising his statue on a rude unpolished rock, emblematic pedestal, which should call back to the minds of posterity, the ignorance, and the other obstacles, which the legislator of Russia had to surmount. An idea so new and so sublime could not fail to meet with approbation; and immediately invention was at work to find a rock, the size and form of which should correspond to the boldness of the conception. Fortune, which ever looks down on mediocrity, and favours genius, kindly stepped in to assist Falconet. In the middle of a morass of Karelia, and at no great distance from a bay formed by the Gulf of Finland, was found a rock completely detached, which rose above the ground 21 feet, and was 42 in length by 34 in breadth. Without delay they fell a-digging all round it, and had the satisfaction to find it was not adherent to any other rock. Nay, it was observed that no other stone whatever could be found in the morass, where nature had deposited it as if by a miracle.

There appeared an absolute impossibility of moving
a mass

a mass so enormous, and the ablest mechanics of Petersburg could suggest only inefficient modes of conveyance, when a simple blacksmith proposed to have it placed on very thick grooved frames, filled with cannon balls, and dragged along over these balls by capstans. This method succeeded perfectly; and though there be eleven verstes of morass from the spot where it was found to Petersburg, though it was necessary to surmount heights, to pass through miry roads, to cross rivers, and to embark it on the Neva, it happily reached the place of its destination.

What will appear extraordinary, a Greek adventurer of the name of Lascaris, laid claim to the invention of the Russian blacksmith, as well as to the reward of 7000 roubles promised to the inventor. The court, informed of the trick attempted by Lascaris, left him quietly to enjoy the fruit of his impudence: and the flatterer Betzkoï, who protected him, had the address to screen him from the Empress's resentment.

One side of the rock had been struck with lightning; and on applying the chisel to pare off the damaged parts, it was found, that instead of consisting of one homogeneous substance, the whole mass was only a composition of various sorts of precious stones, such as rock-crystal, agate, granite, topaz, cornelian, amethyst; and presently the finest ladies in Petersburg were decorated with bracelets, ear-rings and necklaces, hewn out of this astonishing rock.

Peter I. is represented in a Roman dress and crowned with laurels. The horse he rides is in the act of springing, with the fore-feet in the air. With the hinder feet he treads on a serpent of brass, the symbol of envy, and this serpent, biting the flowing tail of the horse, secures the equilibrium of the whole.

Soon after, Catharine instituted the order of St. Wolodimir, as a reward to such of her subjects as served the state beneficially in some civil employment. She had already created the military order of
St.

St. George, the broad ribbon of which is given only to generals who have gained a battle. It must be acknowledged, the hope of obtaining this recompense has perhaps purchased many victories to Russia. Ah! who knew better than Catharine what influence the decorations of vanity exercise over the mind of man?

Russia beheld the advantages procured by her last conquests increasing with rapidity. Her commerce on the Black Sea was continually making new progress. The Russian vessels passed through the channel of the Dardanelles, and pursued their traffic to Aleppo, to Smyrna, or to the ports of Italy. The delicious wines of Greece were imported into White Russia, and thence flowed all over Poland.

Catharine had recently laid the foundations of the city of Kherfon, on the banks of the Dnieper, about ten leagues from Oczakoff, and Potemkin pushed forward the work with incredible activity. He was frequently seen leaving Petersburg, flying to the banks of the Dnieper, and re-appearing on those of the Neva, in less time than it would have taken an ordinary man to travel to Moscow. Kherfon already contained 40,000 inhabitants, and from its dock-yards issued not only vessels fit for commerce, but ships of war, destined to make the Ottoman empire to tremble.

This advantage rekindled the ambition of the Empress and of Potemkin. They desired with equal ardor the conquest of a country without which they could not flatter themselves in the hope of realizing their designs on the Ottoman empire, and the possession of which was perhaps sufficient to indemnify them for the non-execution of those designs. Catharine began by detaching the Crimea from Turkey; and anon resolved to invade it. The fertility of this country is still disputable: but the resources it supplies for armies, and the advantages it presents for commerce, cannot admit of a doubt. The importance
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of the Krimea in the eyes of Catharine obliges me here to insert a brief description of it.

The Krimea is a peninsula, to which may be applied what Strabo says of Spain, when he compared it to an ox-hide stretched out. The Krimea is about 75 leagues in circumference, and situated to the south of Peterburgh, between 51° and 54° east longitude, and about 46° north latitude. The Black Sea washes its coasts to the south and to the west; the sea of Azoph and the sea of Zabacha surround it to the east and to the north. The isthmus which joins it to the continent is only a little more than a league and a half broad. From this isthmus, on which is built the fortress of Perekop, up to the declivity of Karasou-Basar, the country is only one vast plain, and rises imperceptibly up to the summit of the declivity, which forms the southern coast. The plain which extends from Perekop to the river Salguir is about 25 leagues in length. It contains a great number of marshes and lakes, which furnish salt to the adjacent provinces of Russia, to the Krimea itself, to Natolia and Bessarabia.

You travel over this whole plain of Perekop without meeting a single stream. The inhabitants are under the necessity of constructing, close by every house, reservoirs for preserving the rain-water. The earth is there destitute of every species of tree: not a bush is to be seen, not a bramble. The plants cultivated in it do not thrive. This nakedness of soil, however, is not to be ascribed to want of fertility, but to the numerous flocks and herds which incessantly roam over this part of the Krimea, and devour or destroy the vegetables which it produces the instant they begin to shoot.

The propensity which the Tartars have for a wandering life, and their aversion to agriculture, leave this country a prey to desolation. But were it possible to fix those tribes and divide the lands among

them, there would be still enough for pasture, and the remainder could produce abundantly all the necessaries of life. Were a single Tartar to apply himself to agriculture, it would amply supply the want of a hundred of his compatriots.

The Krimea may be divided into two parts, the flat country and the mountainous. The former, which extends from Perekop to Kosloff, and from the river Bulganak to Karasou-Basar, to Kaffa and to Jeni-Kaké, is covered over with a great number of small villages, the inhabitants of which live on the produce of their cattle and of their salt. The mountains are to the south, along the shore of the Black-sea, and extend westward in a straight line, from Kaffa up to the vicinity of Balbeck.

The two most considerable rivers of the Krimea are the Salguir and the Karasou, which discharge themselves into the sea of Zabacha. The former has its source near Achmetfched, and the latter at Karasou-Basar, from whence, after having washed a part of the adjacont plain, it falls into the Salguir. All the other rivers and springs issuing from the chain of mountains which commences at Kaffa, flow toward the north and north-east, except that which, beyond Achmetfched, has its source in mount Aktau. The other rivers fall all of them into the Black Sea. Such are the Amna, the Katscha, the Balbeck, the Kasoulsky.

The mountains are covered with wood proper for building, and are stored with wild animals. The soil in the valleys is fertile, and, in order to be productive, needs only the hand of the husbandman. Gardens are already cultivated there which produce cherries, apricots, peaches, plumbs, almonds, walnuts, pomegranates, figs, quinces, apples, melons and pistachio nuts. The slips of the vine thrive very well on the rising grounds. The mountains likewise contain mines, supposed to be very rich; but the mountaineers

taineers set no value on those advantages: the produce of their flocks and a little bread are sufficient for their subsistence.

The isle of Taman, situated at the entrance of the strait which joins the sea of Azoph to the Black Sea, is rich and very populous.

The Kuban, a vast and barren desert, extending from the frontiers of the Crimea as far as to the foot of Caucasus, is, as well as little Tartary, but very thinly inhabited.

Such are the countries which Catharine, from the peace of Kainardgi, meant to appropriate to herself.

These countries have frequently changed their masters. Celebrated from the days of the Argonauts, they tempted the ambition of the Greeks, who planted colonies there, built the ancient city of Kherfon, and gave to the peninsula the name of the Tauric-Kherfonesus. This peninsula was then inhabited by Scythians, whose frequent aggressions obliged the Greek colonies to implore the assistance of Mithridates against them. That Prince drove the Scythians out of the Tauric-Kherfonesus, and founded the kingdom of Bosphorus, which comprehended the eastern part of the peninsula, and all the country since distinguished by the name of Kuban.

From the time of Dioclesian, the Sarmatians took possession of the Tauric-Kherfonesus. The Alains succeeded the Sarmatians, and were replaced by the Goths, then by the Greek Kings; afterwards this country was successively invaded by the Huns, by the Hungarians, by the Kofars, and even, partly, by the Polowitzi.

Toward the close of the 12th century, the Genoese conquered all the ports of the Black Sea and the coasts of the Tauric-Kherfonesus. Some years after the Mongouls and other Tartars drove the Polowitzi from the territory of which they had made themselves masters, and gave to the city of Solgat the name of

Krim, from which the whole peninsula speedily assumed that of Krimea.

The Genoese still maintained, during a considerable period, possession of the ports of the Krimca. They kept Kaffa itself, down to 1475, the era at which the Turks took it from them, and subjected the Tartars of that peninsula. Finally, in 1774, the Russians liberated the Krimea from the Turkish yoke, with the design to impose on it one still heavier.

Catharine had raised Sahim-Gherai to the place of Khan, merely in the view of making him the instrument of her ambition; she loaded him with caresses and benefits, only the more easily to sacrifice him. That Prince, of a character gentle, feeble, and replete with candour, was very far from suspecting the designs of the Russians. He was fond of the novelties and of the arts of Europe: care was taken to flatter his taste; he was furnished with the incentives to effeminacy and the refinements of luxury. He soon learnt to despise the manners of his own country. He quitted his ancient mode of eating, got a Russian cook, and had his meals served up on plate. Instead of mounting on horseback like the rest of his compatriots, he travelled and took his airings in a magnificent berlin. Forgetting his independence and degrading his dignity, he solicited rank in the Russian army: the Empress appointed him lieutenant-colonel of the Preobraginsky guards, the uniform of which she sent him with the order of St. Anne. Wafsilitsky and Constantinoff, Russian agents, decorated with the title of ministers plenipotentiary, became by turns the counsellors of this over-confident Prince, and were the persons who contributed most to his destruction. The Tartars loudly complained of his manner of living, and of his attachment to Russia; but as he governed them with gentleness and equity, they ascribed his faults to the Christians rather than to himself.

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The Russians, however, stood in need of a pretext for introducing their troops into the Crimea. They put in practice every art to foment some revolt, which might induce the Khan to implore their assistance, and throw himself entirely into their hands. Money, presents, counsels secretly diffused by their emissaries, soon stirred up enemies to him, even in his own family. Two of his brothers, one of whom, named Batti-Gherai, was governor of the Kuban, attempted to surprise him in the city of Kassa, where he resided, and obliged him to flee for refuge to Taganrok. Immediately a Russian army marched to support him. Potemkin himself flew to his assistance, and his name was sufficient to overawe Batti-Gherai, who sent him word that he voluntarily laid down the power he had assumed.

The Khan Sahim-Gherai upon this re-entered the Crimea, and having assembled the greatest part of the Tartar chiefs, delivered up to them thirteen of the rebel ringleaders, who were instantly put to death. He then said :—" Here are my two brothers and myself : which of us do you wish should govern you ? Name him without reserve : I promise to subscribe to your choice." All the Tartars swore they would have no one but Sahim-Gherai.

This accommodation was not perhaps quite consonant to the intentions of the court of Petersburg ; but let the Tartars have taken whatever resolution they would, Catharine's dispositions were already made : the Crimea was at any rate to be invaded.

The Empress at first reinforced her armies in Poland and in the Ukraine, and made every preparation which could have been warranted by an actual declaration of war. She next gave it in charge to her minister at Constantinople to insist on advantages much more extensive than what had been stipulated in treaties, and to demand a promise of the divan, that, whatever might in future be the fate of the Crimea, the Porte should not intermeddle. She

went farther, she persuaded the imprudent Sahim-Gherai to demand the cession of Oczakoff.

The divan was roused to indignation at all these pretensions: but, feeble and disunited, affected a resolution to go to war, yet continued to murmur instead of arming. A bashaw however was dispatched to take possession of the isle of Taman. Sahim-Gherai, at the instigation of the Russians, summoned the bashaw to retire. Instead of obeying, the irritated bashaw ordered the head of the Khan's messenger to be cut off. The Russians, under pretence of intending to avenge that Prince, demanded of him a passage for their troops to go and attack the Turks; and scarcely had they entered his territory when, instead of marching to Taman, they fell back, and spread over the whole peninsula, of which they easily acquired possession. General Balmain surprized Kassa, where the Khan was, and obliged the Imans, the Myrzas, and the other Tartarian chiefs, to take an oath of submission to the Empress.

While this was going on, General Squawaroff subjected the Tartars of the Kuban and the Budziak. Posenkin, who had penetrated beyond the Kuban, received the homage of the Sultan Batti-Gherai, and of the roving hordes which traverse those vast countries. The Russians continued for some time to flatter the Khan, and promised him a pension of 800,000 roubles. But that Prince and his country remained notwithstanding under the yoke of Russia.

Although this invasion, executed in violation of all the rights of nations, and sheltered under the sacred names of vindictive justice, and of protecting friendship, had not excited the Ottoman indolence to have recourse to arms, Catharine nevertheless published an insulting manifesto, to justify in the eyes of Europe the plunder committed on the unfortunate Sahim-Gherai, and to accuse the Turks of having broken the treaty of Kainardgi, which she herself alone had just infringed with an audacity so perfidious.

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This piece is too curious not to merit the insertion of a few extracts from it in this place.

“ Our last war against the Ottoman empire,” says the Empress, “ having been accompanied by the most signal successes, we have certainly acquired the right to unite the Crimea to our empire. But we did not hesitate to sacrifice that conquest, and many others, to the ardent desire of re-establishing the public tranquillity, and of securing a good understanding and friendship between our court and the Ottoman Porte. This was the motive which determined us to stipulate the liberty and independence of the Tartars, whom our arms had subdued, hoping thus to remove for ever all cause of dissension and coldness between Russia and the Ottoman Porte.

“ However great the sacrifices we have made, and the efforts we have employed to realize our hopes, we soon beheld, with extreme regret, those hopes diminished. The restlessness natural to the Tartars, fomented by insinuations, the source of which we are well acquainted with, is the cause of their easily falling into a snare laid by the hands which had sown among them trouble and division, in such a manner that they have been making efforts to weaken and to pull down the edifice which our beneficent exertions had reared for their happiness, by procuring for them liberty and independence, under the authority of a chief elected by themselves.

“ The love of peace enabled us to find in our own conduct a sufficient recompense for the great expediture we had made. But we have soon been obliged to resort to different measures, by the revolt which last year took place in the Crimea, and the encouragement it received from the same quarter as the first. We have, in consequence, been under the necessity of recurring to considerable armaments, and have ordered our troops to march

“into the Krimea and Kuban, where their presence
“was become indispensable to the preservation of
“tranquillity and good order in the countries adjacent.—The necessity to which we are subjected
“of continuing always armed, not only involves us
“in great expense, but exposes our troops to inevitable and continual fatigues.—

“The loss of men is incalculable; we shall not
“therefore undertake to estimate it. But the loss in
“money, according to the most moderate calculation,
“must be reckoned at more than 12,000,000 of roubles.—Animated by a sincere desire of confirming
“and maintaining the last peace concluded with the
“Porte, by preventing the continual disputes which
“the affairs of the Krimea produce, we believe it to be
“a duty which we owe both to ourself and to the security of our empire, that we take, once for all, the
“firm resolution of putting an end to the troubles of
“the Krimea. We, accordingly, unite to our empire
“the peninsula of the Krimea, the isle of Taman and
“the whole of the Kuban, as a reasonable indemnification for the losses we have sustained, and the
“expenses we have incurred in maintaining peace
“and felicity.”

In the close of her manifesto, the Empress promises to allow the Tartars the free exercise of their religious worship, and invites them to imitate the submission, the zeal and the fidelity of the nations which had long enjoyed the happiness of living under her government. But most of the Tartars, little affected by the promises and exhortations of Catharine, resolved to shake off the yoke which her generals had just imposed. Potemkin, informed of their design, gave orders to Prince Prozoroffsky to seize the ring-leaders, and instantly put them to death. Prozoroffsky had the noble firmness to reply, that he was not the proper person to commit an assassination. On this Potemkin issued his orders to General Paul Potemkin,

temkin, his own cousin, who caused 30,000 Tartars of both sexes and of every age to be butchered in cold blood.

The Porte, little practiced in the art of reasoning, wished nevertheless to answer Catharine's manifesto. The pen of a Christian was employed for this purpose, who, in exposing the injustice of that Princess's pretensions and the perfidiousness of her conduct, extolled the probity of the followers of Mahomet in a manner much more convincing than the most eloquent of their Imans could have done. But of what avail are writings of this sort? The cause of sovereigns is pleaded effectually only by the sword; and for a long time the Turks feared to employ it, or used it too unskilfully against the Russians. They durst not even refuse to sign a treaty of alliance and commerce which the Empress ordered to be presented to them by Bulgakoff, her minister at Constantinople, a treaty which formally contradicted the reply which they had published to her manifesto.

Notwithstanding all this, decidedly resolved on a speedy declaration of war against the Turks, and apprehensive that Gustavus III. might avail himself of the remoteness of the Russian armies to attack her, Catharine formed the design of concluding a secret compact with that Prince. She had already several times made overtures to this effect, both through his minister at Petersburg and her own at Stockholm: but the attempt had hitherto proved ineffectual. She resolved to have a second interview with the Swedish monarch:

The meeting took place at Frideriksham, a small city very well fortified on the Gulph of Finland, and the last then possessed by the Russians on the side of Sweden. Gustavus wished at first to decline this rendezvous, under pretence that he had dislocated his arm by a fall from his horse. Catharine sent him word, that if he was unable to travel into Finland, she would pay him a visit at Stockholm. The Swedish

Swedish monarch, who was sensible that such a visit to his capital would be ruinous to him, immediately hastened to Frideriksham; but all the time he resided there, always took care to have his arm supported in a scarf. The Empress arrived at Frideriksham in a yacht. She was attended by Count Ivan Tschernischew, her minister Bezborodko, the master of the horse Narischkin, the favourite Lanskoï, and by several ladies of the court, among the rest was the Princess d'Aschkoff, who for some time past seemed to have regained the friendship of Catharine.

Gustavus had in his retinue the Count de Kreutz, his prime minister, General Armsfeld, Munck, and several other officers.

The Empress had given orders to hire two contiguous houses, which she took care to have furnished in a very elegant style, with a gallery of communication between them. She occupied the one herself; the other was for the accommodation of the King of Sweden: so that during the four days these two sovereigns resided at Frideriksham, they had it in their power to converse with perfect freedom at all hours.

The peace had been signed one month before: there no longer existed a reason why the neutrality of the north should continue under arms. The Empress however wished it should be so: Gustavus gave his consent. She afterwards proposed to that Prince to remain neutral during the war with the Turks, and assured him that, on the termination of this war, she would assist him in making the conquest of Norway. Flattered with this hope, Gustavus promised every thing the Empress wished. Upon this, Catharine affecting, with singular grace and address, a determination to defray the expense of his journey, made him a present of 200,000 roubles, which he had not the resolution to refuse. They separated very much satisfied with each other, and with an imagination fired by their several projects of conquest.

Before she left Frideriksham, the Empress gave her

her portrait to the Count de Kreutz, and lavished her magnificence on the Swedish officers. Gustavus likewise made many presents to the Russian ministers and courtiers. He decorated the favourite Lanskoï with the grand cross of the order of the Polar Star, and on his return to Sweden sent the Princess d'Aschkoff a diploma of member of the academy at Stockholm.

The Porte was so much the less disposed to engage in war, that the preparations of the Russians seemed infallibly to ensure them success. Seventy thousand men, under the command of Potemkin, were assembled on the frontiers of the Krimca. Repnin was at the head of forty thousand, ready to support Potemkin. Mareschal Romanzoff, with a third army, had his head-quarters at Kioeff. The squadrons of the Black Sea were equipped, and ten ships of the line with several frigates only waited the signal to pass from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

A. D. 1784. The court of London, provoked that Russia had appeared at the head of the armed neutrality, employed every effort, but in vain, to induce the divan to have recourse to arms. France and Austria prevented it. Instead of fighting, negotiations were set on foot. By a new treaty, signed at Constantinople, between the Russian plenipotentiary Bulgakoff, and the ministers of the Grand-signor, the Empress retained the sovereignty of the Krimea, of the island of Taman, and of great part of the Kuban; and the Turks admitted the right which she incontestably claimed to the empire of the Black Sea, and to the passage of the Dardanelles. Catharine thus acquired, without striking a blow, a vast extent of territory, and a million and a half of new subjects. She restored their ancient names to the Krimea and the Kuban. The former of these countries she called the Tauride, and the other Caucasus.

The example of Sahim-Gherai ought to have served as a warning to other princes not to resort to the cruel

cruel protection of Russia. But the presents of Potemkin blinded some of them. Heraclius, sovereign of the Kertalinia and of Kachett, who had formerly borne arms under the renowned Thamas-Kouli-Khan, and fought in the last war of the Russians against the Turks, did homage to Catharine for his estates.

Salomon, sultan of Mingrelia, was likewise persecuted by the caressing intrigues and the perfidious kindness of the Empress and of the favourite. Lusty and brave, he aimed, at first, at resting his independence on his own cimeter alone; but a globe of gold, a crown, and a profusion of gaudy promises, reduced him to servitude. He died soon after. Sultan David, his son, could imitate his weakness only.

Potemkin did not invade the country of the Zaporavians; but, always uniting craft to force, he removed 60,000 of his kosacs, and transplanted them into the territories of the Nogais, and on the coasts of the sea of Azoph and of the Black Sea, where he established the colonies which to this day supply mariners to the squadrons of these seas, and particularly to the fleet of row-boats of Nicolaëff.

In extending the empire of his sovereign, Potemkin was by no means negligent of his own interest. Possessed of immense landed estates in different provinces of Russia, he acquired, besides, a great part of the rich domains which the Princes Lubomirsky and Sapieha had in Podolia and Lithuania. His enemies imagined he was meditating a retreat into Poland; but, whatever might have been his intention, never did his favour seem to rest on a more sure foundation; never had he been attached to Russia by so many titles and employments. The Empress decorated him with the surname of Tauritchesky, and gave him the government of the Tauride, with the rank of lord high-admiral of the Black Sea.

In proportion as the number of those who had served her was diminished, Catharine ought undoubtedly to have been more profoundly sensible of their value.

value. She had just lost two of the most distinguished leaders in the conspiracy which placed her on the throne. Panin and Gregory Orloff died at nearly the same time, the one at Petersburg, the other at Moscow.

Panin died of envy and languor, fatal maladies, which disgraced ministers seldom survive. From the instant Potemkin contradicted him in council, and turned him out of the direction of affairs, he fell into a state of habitual depression, and found no refuge but in death.

A destiny still more tremendous was reserved for Gregory Orloff. Though he continued to be under an accumulation of benefits from the Empress, and was the husband of a young and beautiful woman, the sight of new favourites was insupportable to him. He passed by far the greatest part of the last years of his life in travelling. In 1782 he stopped at Lausanne, where he saw his wife breathe her last. This loss plunged him into a deep melancholy. He immediately returned to court, but only to exhibit the mournful spectacle of mental derangement. Sometimes he gave vent to excessive gaiety, which exposed him to the derision of the courtiers: sometimes the reproaches he thundered out against the Empress, made all who heard him to shudder, and sunk herself in sorrow and disquietude. At last, it was found necessary to oblige him to retire to Moscow. There his remorse awoke with redoubled fury. The bloody shade of Peter III. pursued him wherever he went; he saw it incessantly calling for vengeance, and perished in despair.

During the early period of his favour Gregory Orloff had received from the Empress a medallion set with brilliants, her own portrait, which he wore at his button-hole. After the death of Gregory, Woldemar Orloff came to Petersburg, to present this portrait to the sovereign, who returned it to him, with orders to carry it to his brother Alexis, whom
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she permitted to wear it. But was not this portrait, as the case stood, a fatal present? Could it fail to call to remembrance enormities too long left unpunished? Was it possible then for that Alexis to escape remorse, who still survives the commission of so many crimes?

The vicinity of the Caspian Sea invites the Russians to a commercial intercourse with Persia, and, through Persia, they can easily extend it to India. They have accordingly long availed themselves of this advantage. The Czar Alexis Michælowitz, who might be said to have prepared the reign of his son Peter I. as Philippa had prepared that of Alexander, ordered his Dutch carpenters to build some small vessels, with which he protected the commerce carried on by his subjects with the inhabitants of the provinces of Guilan and of Mazanderan.

Peter I. whose genius favoured every thing that was great and useful, farther extended those relations, and established a factory at Schamachia, an opulent and trading city, which some allege to have been the ancient residence of Cyrus. Persia was at that time a prey to a swarm of petty rebellious tyrants, who, taking advantage of the quarrels of the usurper Mahmoud and of the feeble Schah-Hussein, plundered and destroyed those beautiful countries. The Lefguis Tartars, who are the ancient Albanese, descended from Caucasus, took possession of Samachia, and massacred the Russian merchants with the other inhabitants.

Provoked at this outrage, Peter demanded reparation: they either would not, or were unable to satisfy him. From that time he resolved to avenge himself, and to profit by the troubles of Persia to lay hold of the whole western coast of the Caspian Sea. On that sea he embarked, advanced as far as the city of Andreoff, disembarked, and proceeded to lay siege to Derbent, the capital of the Daghestan. Derbent, a long and fortified city, one of the gates whereof was
iron,

iron, from which it derives the name, did not make more resistance than, than it has done in more modern times, when Valerian Zouboff attacked it. The armies of Peter I. triumphed not only at Derbent, but before the wealthy city of Bakhou; and three provinces remained subject to the Russians, till the moment that Biren restored them to Thamas-Kouli-Khan.

The interruption of the commerce of the Russians with Persia was of considerable duration. It was not till the year 1744 that the English revived it. They obtained from the Empress Elizabeth liberty to navigate on the Caspian Sea. They derived through that channel a great quantity of beautiful silk, of cotton, and of other valuable commodities which Persia produces. They established a factory at Meschek; they travelled in caravans to trade as far as Grand-Tartary, to Samarkand and Bokhara.

The British flag, displayed on the Caspian Sea, was a mortification to Thamas-Kouli-Khan. Unable to lower it, that ingenious tyrant undertook to deprive the Russians of its support. He gained over the captains Elton and Woodrow, who commanded the British ships, and they entered into his service.

Elton, raised to the rank of Admiral to Thamas-Kouli-Khan, had ships of war constructed, with which he obliged the Russians to salute the Persian flag, and to acknowledge its superiority. The Empress Elizabeth, informed of this, immediately revoked the permission she had granted to the English company, and endeavoured to avenge herself of Thamas-Kouli-Khan, by exciting enemies against him among his own soldiery. This conqueror, while making preparations to invade Russia, was soon after assassinated in his sleep, in the plain of Mogan.

From that time, the Persians, involved in fresh troubles, scarcely paid any farther attention to the navigation of the Caspian Sea, and all their ships were destroyed by the Russians.

By the treaty of commerce renewed with the court of London in 1766, Catharine restored to the English the privileges withdrawn from them by, Elizabeth. But, whether from want of confidence, or from the embarrassments secretly thrown in their way, they have not been able to turn that trade to such good account as their first company did.

Russia is therefore almost the only nation which derives very considerable benefit from the trade of the Caspian Sea. With a hundred vessels of from forty to fourscore tons burthen, they go in quest of the silk and cotton of Guilan, the carpets and beautiful stuffs of the other provinces, and carry in exchange to the Persians, iron, steel, colours and furs of various kinds.

Independently of this traffic, the Russians carry on a very profitable fishery in the Caspian Sea. There they catch the schmaï, a fish resembling the herring, and the lossâs, far more delicate than the roach of the ocean. They fish especially for seals, which they take in great quantities. The skins are sold to the English and Dutch, and the fat is employed in the manufacture of soap. The rivers of Persia supply the Russians with great abundance of those fishes from which the kaviar is extracted, an object of vast commercial importance, and without which scarcely a repast is enjoyed all over the north.

The squadron which Catharine kept up on the Caspian Sea, was built of the oak of Kavan, and consisted of three frigates, five corvettes and a gun-boat. These vessels incessantly cruized along the coasts of Persia, and burnt every ship they met, and even timber for ship-building. Their commanders had besides positive orders to sow division among the Khans; and always to support the more feeble against the stronger. This mode of proceeding had been highly serviceable to the Empress. It had promoted her views on Poland and on the Krimea too successfully to be dispensed with in favour of the Persians.

In 1781, this Princess resolved to execute the project conceived by Peter I. against Persia. She meant to extend her dominion along the western shore of the Caspian Sea. The dissensions which continued to desolate those beautiful regions seemed favourable to her ambition. But she met with obstacles she did not expect.

The most powerful of the tyrants of Persia, at that time, was the Khan Aga-Mahmed, Descended from one of the first families of the Korassan, Aga-Mahmed was still in the cradle, when his father and brothers were butchered by order of Thamas-Kouli Khan. The conqueror satisfied himself with employing against this infant precautions which effectually incapacitated him to perpetuate his race: but Aga-Mahmed nevertheless became, like the eunuch Narses, a warrior and a statesman.

After the death of Thamas-Kouli-Khan, the mother of Aga-Mahmed married again, and had several other children, who proved their brother's greatest enemies. One of them, Mourtouza-Kouli-Khan, imagining he could derive powerful succours from Russia, expressed a servile devotedness to that power, which supported while it despised him. But in defiance of Mourtouza, in defiance of Aboulfat, son of the last regent Kerim-Khan, finally, in defiance of all his rivals, Aga-Mahmed had the ability to make himself master of Guilan, of Mazanderan, of Schirvan, and of several other provinces.

The Empress gave orders to Count Woinowitsch, commander of her squadron on the Caspian Sea, to employ every possible exertion to form some settlements on the coast of Persia. Woinowitsch set out with a body of troops, and a proper supply of ammunition, and repaired to Asterabath, the best port of Mazanderan; which is the ancient country of the Mardi. Aga-Mahmed then resided at Ferabath. Woinowitsch applied to him for permission to establish a factory on the coast. The Khan, who did not per-

haps think himself in a condition to repel the Russians by force of arms, or who preferred stratagem to fighting, affected compliance with the request of Woinowitsch.

The Russians on this lost no time in constructing a fortress, on which they mounted eighteen pieces of cannon. Aga-Mahmed received information of it, and, always a master in the art of dissimulation, hastened to take his revenge. He came to view the fortress, admired the construction, extolled the activity of the Russians, and invited himself and retinue to dine on board the frigate of Woinowitsch.

After having passed that day in extreme gaiety, and expressed much friendship for the Russians, the Khan engaged them to come and dine, in their turn, at a country palace he had in the mountains. Thither they went the day after; but the moment they arrived Aga-Mahmed ordered them to be put in irons. He, at the same time, threatened Woinowitsch with the loss of his head, and the threat extended to all his officers, unless the fortress was forthwith razed to the ground.

Woinowitsch, who clearly perceived that resistance would be useless, sent orders to the commandant of the fort to have it demolished. The captain Nikita Baschkakoff, who carried these orders to the commanding officer, was led between two Persian cavaliers, and flogged the whole length of the road. The cannons were re-shipped and the wall levelled. Aga-Mahmed then ordered the Russian officers into his presence: and, not contented with pouring out on them a torrent of abuse and contempt, he gave up the younger part of them to his slaves. Those barbarians proceeded to commit outrages upon their persons which modesty permits not to describe, and so much the more atrocious that they were inflicted by orders from a eunuch. The Russians were afterwards sent down to the shore.

The court of Petersburg avenged this insult only
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by continuing to foment the dissensions of Persia. A rival was brought on the field to Aga-Mahmed, who soon became the most formidable of his enemies, and stripped him of the province of Guilan. This conqueror, Ghedahed-Khan by name, taking advantage of the arms and ammunition secretly conveyed to him by the Russians, seemed to be on the point of divesting Aga-Mahmed of all his power. But this last succeeded in corrupting the Russian agent Tomanoffsky and the consul Skilitch, who both resided at Zinzili. They betrayed Ghedahed-Khan, and put him into the hands of Aga-Mahmed, who ordered his head to be struck off, and re-acquired calm possession of Guilan.

Russia at the same time openly professed to take no part whatever in these quarrels. Not long after the death of Ghedahed-Khan, Potemkin dispatched one of his officers with a complimentary message to Aga-Mahmed, who was then at Riatsch, the capital of Guilan. He farther recommended to him to study the Khan's character, and to sound his intentions with respect to Russia. The officer repaired to Riatsch, and easily obtained an audience of Aga-Mahmed; but on conversing with him, he perceived him to assume a gloomy and pensive air, which excited a suspicion of some sinister design. On this he artfully remarked to him, that, though in the service of Russia, he was by birth an Englishman, and that his nation was powerfully attached to the Persians, with whom they carried on a very extensive commerce in the Gulf of Bassora. The Khan immediately resumed a smiling aspect, spoke to the envoy in a very gentle tone of voice, and dismissed him with valuable presents.

These reciprocal expressions of a feigned benevolence were succeeded by a prompt aggression. Mourtouza-Kouli-Khan, supported by the Russians, attempted a fresh invasion of Guilan, but was repulsed by the Khan Soliman, who commanded there in ab-

fence of Aga-Mahmed, and this last speedily overran all Persia and Georgia. His ambition did not stop here. Heir of the projects of the redoubted Schah-Nadir, he intended to seize the province of Astrakhan, and exclude the Russians from the Caspian Sea. But could he have done this without the co-operation of the Turks? and do the Turks ever know what it is to act firmly in concert with an ally, in the view of galling their enemies?

With an intention to discover the designs of the court of Peterburgh, Aga-Mahmed sent an ambassador thither, whom, in contempt of the law of nations, and to the disgrace of Catharine, Potemkin relegated to the city of Kremenschouk, on the Dnieper, and he was still there in 1790, in a state of the most abject misery, but high-spirited, and threatening Russia with the vengeance of his master.

The commerce of the Russians with China was not less beneficial than that of the Caspian Sea. For about 130 years past the Siberians and the Boukhares had formed caravans which, crossing Chinese Tartary, pursued their traffic as far as Peking. Their exports consisted chiefly of furs, and they received in exchange gold, silver, jewellery, stuffs, tea, and all the commodities invented by the Chinese, and which their industry, in many respects whimsical, has carried to such high perfection.

The arrogance and ill behaviour of the Russians shut them out of China. They were no longer allowed to trade except on the frontiers of that empire; their commerce was frequently interrupted and renewed; at last, some time before the death of the Empress Elizabeth, fresh quarrels subjected it to a farther suspension.

Catharine perceived the necessity of reviving this commerce. She made a proposal to this effect to the Emperor of China. That Prince acceded to it; and, in 1770, the small city of Kiachta became the rendezvous of the Russian and Chinese merchants;

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The Empress sent an archimandrite from Moscow, with several young Russians, to Peking, for the purpose of studying the Chinese language. She at the same time gave orders to build, at convenient distances, cities and villages up to the frontiers of China, and gave encouragement to people to settle in them, but almost all of them fell victims to the rapacity of Russian governors.

Nevertheless, the asylum which the Chinese had granted to the Tourgouths who abandoned the banks of the Volga, and the breach of faith displayed by the Russians in chastising those of their compatriots who made encroachments on the territory of the Chinese, still disturbed the harmony of the two courts, and became for some time the subject of a correspondence, which served only to irritate them against each other. At length, Catharine dispatched an envoy to Peking; and the colao Soun-ta-zhia and a Russian minister having met at Kiachka, they concluded a new agreement, which restored a good understanding and commercial intercourse between the two nations.

Catharine likewise encouraged the maritime expeditions of Kamtschatka. After the example of the English who sail in quest of peltry to the north-west coast of America, several Russian ships repaired to China, and opened a channel of lucrative commerce.

There was still another country with which Catharine wished to make a commercial arrangement. The northern coasts of Russia, and particularly her settlements in several islands of the Archipelago of the north, brought her into contact with Japan. Chance too was propitious to the Empress's design.

Some Japanese had suffered shipwreck in those unfrequented seas, and saved themselves on the coasts of Russia. An inhabitant of Irkoutsk, named Laxmann, carried one of them to Peterburgh. Catharine gave him a most gracious reception, and put him under the care of masters, who, by instructing him in the Russian and Tartar languages, acquired the Japanese

panese sufficiently to enable her to form a commercial intercourse. This enterprise has not yet been crowned with great success; but there is no room to doubt that Russia will sooner or later have a share of the great profits which Holland now derives from her trade with Japan.

Though Catharine extended her vast dominion in all directions, though she appropriated to herself in peace as in war, all the estates which she could with impunity invade, she beheld not with less jealousy the increasing power of her rivals. She had long been, in a particular manner, hurt at both the glory of Frederick II. and at the preponderancy he had acquired in Europe. From the first partition of Poland, Frederick daily encroached on the rights of the city of Dantzic, and cramped her commerce in such a manner that she was under a kind of necessity of either acknowledging his sovereignty, or of renouncing her trade. Catharine was to much the more vexed to see Dantzic fall into the hands of the Prussians, that the court of Russia had itself long conceived a design of laying hold of that city, and had been diverted from it merely by the secret representations made on the subject by the government of France to the chancellor Woronzoff. The magistrates of Dantzic were artfully allured by the minister Stackelberg to implore Catharine's protection. She immediately wrote to the King of Prussia, with an offer of her mediation. This interference retarded for some time the invasion of Dantzic.

Differences of a very opposite nature disturbed another corner of Europe. Joseph II. wished to restore the free navigation of the Scheldt. The Dutch opposed it, and employed every effort to engage Frederick to support their selfish pretensions by force of arms. Catharine on this declared her resolution to support the rights of the Emperor of Germany. The Dutch, whose cannon had already insulted the Austrian flag, were thereby alarmed at the prospect of
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having the Baltic shut against them, and resorted to negotiation instead of going to blows.

While Catharine was securing peace to her empire from abroad, and contributing to the establishment of it among other powers, caballing revived in the bosom of her own court. There was not a method which the malecontents left unattempted to arm the Grand-duke against his mother, and to irritate the Empress against her son. The Grand-duke usually passed the autumn at Gatschina, a country retreat about eighteen verstes distant from Tzarsko-Zelo. A report was suddenly circulated that he was going to build a city there, and to give liberty to all who should settle in it. The Prince was not a little surprised to see the peasantry flocking from all parts of the empire, elated with the prospect of enjoying his benignity. But he had the skill to give them a prudent dismissal, and dissipated a commencement of revolt, of which hope had undoubtedly been entertained that he would be obliged to avail himself.

The turn for intrigue and the zeal of Bezborodko rendered him necessary to the Empress. In succeeding Panin as minister, he had inherited his opinions. Allied to the Woronzoff family, he was secretly opposed to Potemkin, who disdained all his enemies, put them to open defiance, and sometimes, with tolerable success, turned them into ridicule.

Lanskoï lived on good terms with Potemkin, and became every day dearer to the Empress. The education of this favourite had been neglected. Catharine exerted herself to remedy this defect. She enriched his mind with knowledge the most useful, and admired in him the fruits of her own labour. But this satisfaction came to a period. Lanskoï excited Potemkin's jealousy. Perhaps he failed in paying proper respect to that despot. He was seized with a violent distemper, and expired, in the flower of life, in the Empress's arms, who lavished on him, to the

very last moment, every expression of the most passionate love.

When he ceased to breathe, she abandoned herself to all the bitterness of grief. For several days she rejected nourishment of every kind, and remained three months at her palace at Tzársko-Zelo without stirring abroad. She afterwards reared a very beautiful mausoleum to Lanskoi; and more than two years after, her attendants having accidentally conducted her within sight of that monument, she was seen suddenly to dissolve into a flood of tears.

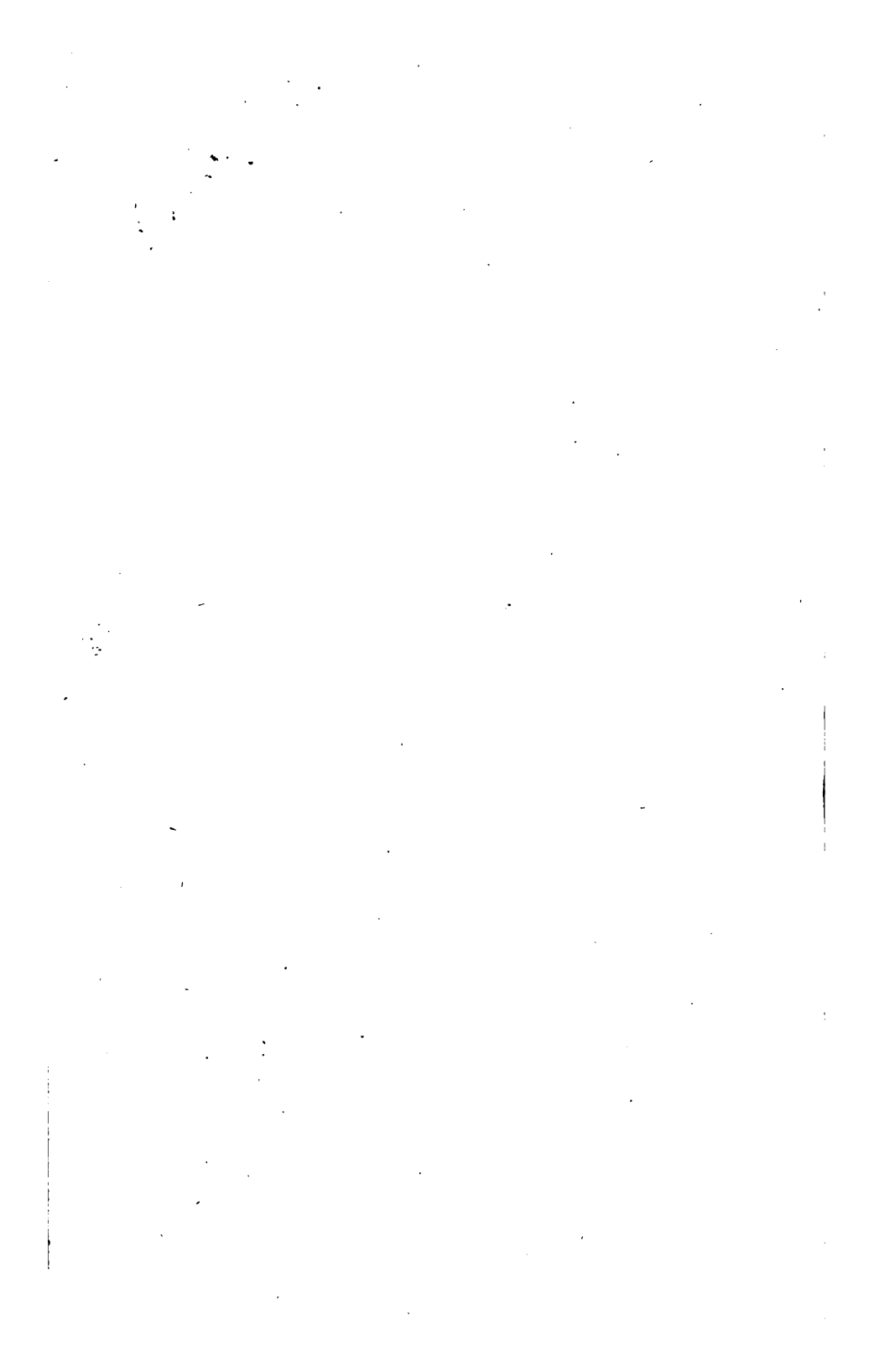
Potemkin undertook to cure Catharine of this excess of sorrow. He was almost the only person who could penetrate into the solitude in which she had buried herself. He acquired still more of the ascendant he had over her; and whether from gratitude, whether from weakness, she resolved, it is said, to unite herself to him by indissoluble bands, and gave him her hand in secret.

Marriage could no more fix the inclinations of Potemkin than those of Catharine. He soon thought of liberating himself from the duties which that imposed, and of delegating them to a favourite younger and more complaisant than himself.

Every courtier who looked for preferment, wished to see the place, left vacant by the death of Lanskoi, filled up by a personage who would share with them the favours annexed to it. The Princess d'Aschkoff employed all her art to procure it for her son: her intrigues appeared, for a moment, about to be crowned with success. The young Prince d'Aschkoff was tall, well made, and of a figure adapted to make some impression on the heart of the Empress. Potemkin, who perceived the engines put in motion to bring it about, took care not to give it an avowed opposition, lest contradiction should whet Catharine's appetite, and determine her choice. Affecting, on the contrary, an inclination to favour young d'Aschkoff,



Published Feb^r. 4th 1800, by J. Stockdale, Piccadilly.



koff, he tendered civilities to his family, with whom he had hitherto lived on very indifferent terms. He had the skill of catching and mimicking with facility the ridiculous traits of the persons with whom he was intimate, and did not neglect to point out to Catharine those of the Princess d'Aschkoff and her son. The Empress was highly diverted at it. Potemkin next day sent her, one after another, two officers of the guards, Yermoloff and Mononoff, on some trifling commission, to give her an opportunity of seeing them. Catharine decided in favour of the former.

There happened to be a ball at court. Young d'Aschkoff displayed uncommon magnificence on the occasion. The courtiers imagined his triumph was at hand, and already treated him with the deference which attaches to the person of the favourite. Potemkin redoubled his attentions to the Princess d'Aschkoff. She was so well-pleased with them that, the day after, she wrote him a billet, requesting he would admit into the number of his aids-de-camp the young Count de Bouttourlin, her nephew. Potemkin maliciously replied, that every place of aid-de-camp was filled, and that the last had just been given away to Lieutenant Yermoloff. Both the name and the person who bore it were strange to Princess d'Aschkoff. That very day she learnt to know them, by seeing Yermoloff at the hermitage with the Empress.

Potemkin had frustrated the expectation of Princess d'Aschkoff and her son, in the way of amusement. He employed means dastardly and cruel to rid himself of another rival. Prince Peter Mikaëlowitz Gallitzin, commandant of the troops in garrison at Moscow, and distinguished by his courage, his parts and his figure, aspired to the post of favourite. This, undoubtedly, was not sufficient to excite Potemkin's jealousy: but Gallitzin discovered an ambition to rule, and frequently presumed to expose the faults of him who held the reins of government. Potemkin

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was informed of it, and resolved to put out of the way a censor whom he considered as a competitor. He soon found an opportunity.

At the time Prince Gallitzin was only colonel, he had been so hasty as to strike an officer named Labroff, for some neglect of duty. Labroff afterwards retired quietly to his estates. General Schepeloff, the husband of one of Potemkin's nieces, sent for him to Moscow, while the court was there, and assured him of his uncle's most grateful acknowledgments, if he would take a signal vengeance on Gallitzin. Labroff instantly repaired to Gallitzin's house, caned him, and walked away.

A few days after, the Turkish ambassador was to make his public entry into Moscow, and, to render the spectacle more brilliant, not only was the garrison ordered out under arms, but a regiment of cavalry was sent for, of which the Grand-duke was colonel. Potemkin once more employed Schepeloff to insinuate to the Grand-duke, that he would be to blame if he suffered his regiment to take orders from Gallitzin; and the Prince, in fact, declared that he would not permit a corps, distinguished by his own name, to be under the command of a dishonoured officer.

Gallitzin, informed of Schepeloff's practices, sent him a challenge. The combat began with pistols, and then they proceeded to decide it sword in hand. Schepeloff, more robust, more agile than Gallitzin, sprung in upon him, seized him forcibly in his arms, and stabbed him in several places. The Prince presently died of his wounds. His death was considered as assassination.

Frederick II. who looked upon the alliance of Austria and Russia as pregnant with danger to Prussia, and indeed to all Germany, invited the electors and the other princes of the empire to enter into a league in defence of the Germanic constitution. The King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, was one of the

the first who entered into the confederation. This proceeding was deeply resented by the Empress and Potemkin.

A. D. 1785. The court of London, desirous of renewing the treaty of commerce with Russia, sent, in quality of minister plenipotentiary to Petersburg, Allan Fitz-Herbert, who joined to the disadvantage of existing circumstances, the imprudence of attaching himself to the party of the Woronzoffs and of Bezborodko. The commerce which unites Britain and Russia is mutually beneficial to the two powers, and Catharine assuredly had no wish to renounce it: but she was not sorry to have it in her power to exhibit a proof of her displeasure at the court of London, by delaying the renewal of the treaty.

It may be perhaps necessary here to present a succinct detail of the particulars whereof the trade between England and Russia consists. This commerce began in the port of Archangel, which the English discovered, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, in attempting to find a passage to the Indies by the seas of the north and of the east. From Archangel they forced their way up the northern Dwina, penetrated over land to Moscow, and there formed connections which had widely extended when Peter I. made the conquest of Livonia, and opened to them the ports of Petersburg, Revel, Riga and Narva. From that period downward the commerce of Russia is become one of the most lucrative that Britain carries on, and of the highest importance to her marine.

The English carry to Russia the produce of their soil, of their manufactures, and of their colonies in both Indies, as well as the wines and brandies of France and Spain, which they purchase in the ports of those two states, on which they not only make a very considerable profit, but gain besides the whole benefit of the freight of their shipping.

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The Russians supply them, in exchange, with grain, peltry, iron, hemp, pitch, ship-timber, and the beautiful masts without which Europe would be unable to arm those fleets which cover, and so frequently stain with blood, the face of the ocean. The English have, besides, established at Moscow, at Thula, at Kasan, at Astrakhan, and in some other cities of Russia, factories which carry on a trade in the Caspian Sea, and in Tartary. In these places several beneficial branches of manufacture flourish, because labour is much cheaper there than in England, and their agents conduct the several processes of sail and cordage-making, of anchor-forging, both of cast and hammered iron, as well as of copper. Though entirely passive as to Russia, this commerce brings her annually a balance of a million of roubles in time of peace, and of a million and a half in time of war. But of what unspeakable advantage is it to England! What inexhaustible resources does it furnish her for keeping up her marine, and for incessantly extending her connections to every part of the globe!

The French ambassador at Constantinople had contrived to make the court of Petersburg act, almost involuntarily, in concert with that of Versailles. That minister had just been recalled. Vergennes, who perceived the necessity of being on friendly terms with Catharine, had the Count de Segur appointed minister plenipotentiary from France to Petersburg. This young negotiator was worthy of a mission so important. He united to the graces of a polished mind, knowledge the most extensive, politeness to dignity, and the art of persuasion to frankness. He could not fail to please Catharine and to captivate Potemkin, whose stately bluntness always knew how to estimate real merit.

Since the time of La Chetardie and l'Hopital no French minister had succeeded at Petersburg. Breteuil, by his servile complaisance, had favoured the intrigues

intrigues of Catharine, who soon learnt to hold him in contempt. The insolence of Beaufllet fatigued that Princess, the insignificant mediocrity of Juigné disgusted her, and Verac could never acquire the smallest portion of her confidence, because he stammered in speaking to her, on his first introduction. Segur repaired the mischief done by his awkward predecessors.

The Empress wished to inspect the celebrated canal of Wischenei, which joins the Volga to lake Ilmen, this last to lake Ladoga, and consequently the Caspian Sea to the Baltic. Potemkin, Yermoloff, Bezborodko, several others of her court, the British and French ministers, and the Imperial ambassador, attended her on this excursion.

One day that the minister of France had gone to chat with Potemkin, he found him more than usually soured against the court of London. Dextrously availing himself of the opportunity, Segur made Potemkin sensible of the benefit which would result to Russia from having a direct commerce with France, instead of leaving to the English all the profits they derive from both of those powers. Potemkin desired him to prepare a memorial on the subject, and give it him in writing, and promised to speak to no one of it except to the Empress. The minister immediately returned to his galley. Finding no person there but Count Louis Cobenzel, and Fitz-Herbert, playing together at trictrac, he borrowed the standish of this last. It was with the pen, then, of the British minister, that he traced the plan of a treaty of commerce between France and Russia. This plan, instantly presented to Potemkin, was communicated to the Empress, and obtained her concurrence: it was afterwards faithfully reconveyed to the French minister, with directions to deliver it, in the usual form, to the vice-chancellor Ostermann.

When this paper was presented to Ostermann, who did not know that the contents of it had already been
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been approved by the Empress and Potemkin, and who was, besides, entirely devoted to the English, he told the French minister that he durst not flatter him with the hopes of success. The minister said not a word. The plan being laid before the council, was immediately adopted; and this paved the way for the commercial treaty between France and England.

Before this treaty was signed, Ostermann and Bezborodko insisted that France should give her concurrence to the armed neutrality. This was communicated to the ambassador, who consented to it, provided the court of Petersburg would engage to conclude no treaty with any other power but on the same condition. This clause, levelled at the interest and the pride of England, retarded for a long time the renewal of the treaty which Fitz-Herbert solicited.

On his departure from France, Segur had expressed a hope of being able to form a commercial treaty with Russia. The thing was declared by every body to be impossible. When he announced to his court that this treaty was set on foot, Vergennes dispatched a courier to assure him it was merely a bait thrown in his way by Russia, and that he was certainly going to betray the dignity of the King. When the courier reached Petersburg the treaty was concluded.

Before she returned to Petersburg, Catharine repaired to Moscow, and was less unfavourably received than on her preceding visits to that city. Time had almost effaced the memory of her usurpation. Among those who appeared at court was Goudowitz, whom the extreme simplicity of his dress rendered easily distinguishable amidst a crowd of courtiers bedizened with crosses, jewels, ribbons of chivalry. His presence alone still brought Peter III. to remembrance.

Romanowna Woronzoff had long been recalled from exile, and was married to Admiral Palensky. The Empress did not invite her to court, but sent for her daughter, whom she admitted into the number of her maids of honour. Was it from remorse? Did it

it proceed from an excess of indulgence? Or was it merely that she wished to shew a piece of complaisance to the family of the Woronzoffs?

The Empress did not rest satisfied with having appointed a Catholic archbishop, and settled a seminary of Jesuits at Mohiloff, and of supporting Islamism in the Krimea, she almost every year displayed to her people a solemn example of the protection she granted to freedom of religious worship. On the day of the benediction of the waters, her confessor received orders to assemble the ecclesiastics of all persuasions, and to do the honours of the table, at a grand festival, which Catharine denominated *the dinner of toleration*. There were accordingly this year seen collected round the same table, the patriarch of Gurghistan, the Russian bishop of Polotsk, Greek archimandrites, a Catholic bishop, a prior of the same religion, an Armenian priest, Franciscans, Jesuits, Lutheran preachers, Calvinists, and Anglican vicars.

From the commencement of her reign, Catharine exerted herself to diffuse instruction among her subjects. She had already founded houses of education in various cities. She wished to extend similar institutions all over the country. A board of public instruction was immediately formed, at the head of which was placed her ancient favourite Zawadoffsky, who, without having resumed the title of lover to the Empress, was nevertheless restored to favour, and had been appointed secretary of the closet and president of the loan-bank. After him came the learned Epinus, and Pastonkoff, private secretary to the Empress. The other members named in the commission were merely insignificant ciphers of men, whom the protection of Zawadoffsky had got inserted.

The board was divided respecting the mode of instituting the Normal schools which the empress had much at heart. Epinus, who was afraid that ignorance and self-conceit might prevent the execution of this design, recommended the adoption of the Austrian

Austrian institutions, and, after violent opposition, his opinion prevailed. He was undoubtedly acquainted with the defects of the Austrian method; but he thought it better to establish imperfect seminaries, and such as were susceptible of improvement by time, than to have none of any kind.

Catharine, upon this, proposed to Joseph II. several questions respecting the Normal-schools of Austria. That Prince sent her Jankowitsch, whom he deemed a proper person to give her all the information she needed. Jankowitsch, an ancient village schoolmaster, and destitute of talents, had scarcely arrived at Petersburg when he found himself decorated with the title of counsellor of state, appointed director of the Normal-schools, and made a commissioner of the board of public instruction. He became at the same time the flatterer of Zawadoffsky and the antagonist of Epinus.

Such was the importance which the Empress attached to her board of public instruction, that she was incessantly addressing notes to it, with a communication of her ideas as to the means of perfecting the Normal-schools. She did more, she graced the lessons of those schools with her presence.

A learned German, Bachmester a Hanoverian, member of the academy of Petersburg, agreed to teach geography and history in the Russian language. This was fortunate; for, perhaps, not a single Russian would have been capable of it. Catharine happened one day to attend, with several of her court, a lecture delivered by the professor on the population of Siberia. After having listened to him with attention, she highly commended his knowledge and his zeal. She afterwards proposed an objection, to which he replied in a triumphant style. Zawadoffsky and others of the audience, little accustomed to behold a mere scholar advance an opinion contrary to that of the sovereign, expressed indignation at such a display of temerity.

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But the Empress stopped them short, by acknowledging she had been under a mistake, and thanked the professor for having so ably rectified it. Observing, at the same time, Zawadoffsky's ill-humour, she took advantage of the moment when he attended her to the carriage, to order him to repeat her thanks to professor Bachmester. This did not hinder the president of the board of instruction to punish, some time afterward, the frankness of this estimable man, by depriving him of his place, and even of the apartments which had been assigned to him.

In devoting her attention to public instruction, Catharine did not neglect the private tuition of her grandchildren: she herself directed it, and devoted to it, every day, a portion of her time. The education of the young Princesses was confided to the widow of Lieutenant-general Lieven, a woman of superior understanding and of distinguished merit. The young Princes were placed under the care of men esteemed worthy of a trust so important. The Empress composed for those Princes various essays on history and morals, which have been collected under the title of "Library of the Grand-dukes Alexander and Constantine." She frequently assisted at their lessons, conversed with the gentlemen who instructed them, and called for the rough draughts of their exercises, to which she usually affixed notes, addressed sometimes to the pupils, sometimes to the masters. One day that she visited, while they were abroad, their studying parlour, she perceived that the lesson of the morning had been on the subject of the government of Switzerland, and that the tutor had expressed himself as a man who had sense to set a proper value on the advantages enjoyed by a free people. She wrote with her own hand, at the bottom of the sheet:—"M. Laharpe, continue your lessons in this style; your sentiments afford me much pleasure."

These details will perhaps appear uninteresting; but, just as I frankly expose the blemishes of Catharine's

rine's character, I feel myself obliged not to overlook her estimable qualities. Alas! why have I not more to commemorate!

A. D. 1786. Yermoloff had risen to the highest degree of favour. His imprudence tumbled him headlong from it. This favourite, tall, fair, and of a figure which announced total want of feeling, was replete with jealousy. He soon shewed himself ungrateful to Potemkin, to whom he owed his fortune. He eagerly seized every opportunity of injuring him, and, merely in the view of thwarting him, defended the unfortunate Khan Sahim-Gherai, the payment of whose pension had been most scandalously neglected. The Empress, who became every day weaker, where her lovers were concerned, discovered a degree of coldness toward Potemkin, and also to the French ambassador, whose credit too gave umbrage to Yermoloff.

Bezborodko, Alexander Woronzoff, and some other courtiers, contributed, by underhand instigations, to sour the temper of this favourite. Yermoloff had an uncle, named Lewaschoff, whom Potemkin dismissed with ignominy from the service, in consequence of a quarrel at play, in which this Lewaschoff had been on the wrong side. Yermoloff complained of it to the Empress. Potemkin had to stand the brunt of that Princess's reproaches, and felt himself so keenly hurt, that he haughtily said to her:—"Madam, make your choice, and dismiss Yermoloff or me; for so long as you keep that white negro, my foot shall not enter your doors." That very day Yermoloff received orders to set out on his travels. Momonoff replaced him. These intrigues were known only at court: elsewhere the glory of Catharine was blazoned.

In the course of his travels through the interior of Russia, the intelligent Pallas had collected many objects of natural history, and had formed, by this means, a valuable cabinet. Catharine made a purchase

chase of it. She had likewise purchased, some years before, the libraries of d'Alembert and of Voltaire.

Different travellers had frequently, by her orders, traversed both the Archipelago of the north and the most remote Russian provinces. She likewise dispatched several enlightened men, some toward the Caucasus, others to the frontiers of China. But did she not engage in those enterprizes rather from a vain desire of trumpetting her fame over Europe, than from a real love of the sciences? Had she possessed the noble ambition of turning to account the labours of ingenious men, would she not have permitted the publication of all the discoveries of the learned, both in the interior, and beyond the limits of her immense dominions! Their departure was always emphatically announced; their return never shed but a clandestine light. Some rays of that light, however, made their escape: the envious policy of the court of Russia has not been able to eclipse them to every eye.

In 1783, Billings, an Englishman, went over to Russia, with a great number of his compatriots, whom the Russian minister Simolin had just engaged at London for the Imperial marine. Being presented, as well as the rest of his comrades, to Count Ivan Tchernischeff, Billings told him that he had been, in quality of assistant astronomer, employed under Captain Cook, in his last voyage round the world. Words always impose on the ignorant. Tchernischeff, who did not know that the employment of astronomer-assistant consisted only in committing to paper the degrees, minutes and seconds which the observer dictates to him, a task which any one may execute who understands common ciphering, eagerly imparted this discovery to Catharine. This Princess immediately resolved to undertake a maritime expedition, which, perhaps, might have procured her the glory of succeeding where the celebrated Cook had failed.

Billings was accordingly requested to set out for the northern Archipelago, and he was sufficiently intoxicated by vanity to undertake an enterprize far beyond his talents, and from which his compatriots to no purpose endeavoured to dissuade him. Immense preparations were made, and at a vast expense. The illustrious professor Pallas was placed at the head of a board constituted to draw up a scheme of the expedition, together with Billings. But, to their great astonishment, the members of this board soon discovered that Cook's assistant astronomer knew nothing of the science; they declared so to the minister Tchernischeff, who, offended at their honesty, insolently replied, that Billings knew more of the matter than they did.

The board of admiralty fortunately joined to Billings three very well-informed officers; the first was Lieutenant Hall, by birth an Englishman; the second Bezing, a Dane; and the third Zaritscheff, a native of Russia. There was likewise associated with them, to superintend the instruments, a very ingenious English mechanic, named Edwards. The rest of the ship's company consisted of the most intelligent handicraftsmen, of the most experienced pilots, and of the ablest seamen in the Russian navy. At last, Billings, furnished with instructions compiled by Pallas, repaired to the banks of the Kowima, where he had a vessel built, to double the Tschoukotskoi-Now, but could not make it good.

The year after he traversed the islands of the eastern ocean, taking his departure from Okhotsk and the bay of Awatscha up to the coasts of Japan. He even traced charts of them; but the discoveries he made are of no great importance. He collected, however, a great number of rarities, and brought to Peterburgh a native of Ounalaschka and a woman whom the inhabitants of that island had kidnapped from the shores of America, and who was asserted to have

have come from a part of the continent very distant from the coast. On his return to Petersburg, Billings applied himself, with the aid of Pallas, to digesting the journal of his voyage. But there is too much reason to fear that this work, like that which I have mentioned, shall remain lost to the public.

A more certain monument of Catharine's glory is the canal which she began to cut in the province of Twer, to join the Twertza to the Msta. The former of these rivers falls into the Volga, and the latter has a communication, by great lakes, with the Neva. If ever this canal should be completed, it will establish an internal navigation through all the immense regions situated between the Caspian and the Baltic Seas.

The Empress, desirous of increasing the population of Kherfon, and of her newly acquired provinces of the Tauride and the Caucasus, published a manifesto inviting foreigners to come and settle in those countries. I shall present a few extracts from this new bait thrown out to the credulity of Europe.

"The protection we are accustomed to grant to
"foreigners who come to trade, or exercise their
"industry, in our empire, is generally known. Every
"one may enjoy, in our estates, the unrestrained
"exercise of the religion of his fathers, complete per-
"sonal security, the protection of law and govern-
"ment. All the absolute necessities of life, and
"every desirable comfort, as well as the means of
"acquiring wealth, are there supplied both from the
"fertility of the soil and from objects favourable
"to commerce. The country of the Caucasus, sub-
"jected to our sceptre, opens all these resources in
"greater abundance than the other provinces of our
"empire. Foreigners wishing to settle there, whe-
"ther in the cities or in rural situations, will find in
"them a peaceful asylum and unspeakable accom-
"modations.—They will be, during the period of six
"years, exempted from every demand on the part of

“ the crown. If, on the expiration of that term, they
“ should desire to leave our territories, they shall be
“ at full liberty to do so, on paying simply the amount
“ of three years taxes.”

By another manifesto which appeared some months after the one preceding, the Empress declared to all the inhabitants of Russia and of Tartary, that they were no longer, in addressing her, to denominate themselves her *slaves*, but only her *subjects*. This Princess was not ignorant of the means of rendering herself popular, and she frequently employed them with wonderful art. One of those which she most successfully practised, was her attention to children. Whether from inclination or from policy, she always had a great number in her apartments. They there enjoyed the same liberties that her own grandchildren did. They gave the Empress no other appellation but that of grand-mama, and she returned their caresses with the utmost complacency.

Alas! was this then the woman whose murderous lips dictated the assassination of her ill-fated husband? Could it be that mother so cold, and so prone to distrust her own son? Could it be that ambitious Princess who seemed to breathe only for the purpose of usurping crowns and of invading states? Could it be; finally, that lofty-minded sovereign who sometimes talked to her ministers and generals in such a tone of haughtiness, and demanded of them, with a voice of displeasure, whether she had honoured them with staffs of command or the ribbons of knighthood, that they might render themselves unworthy of her confidence?—Yes, undoubtedly, it was the same person. That man must be little acquainted with the human heart who does not know that it frequently associates sentiments and inclinations diametrically opposite.

BOOK XI.

Catharine II. travels to the Krimea—Assassination of Sahim-Gherai—The Turks declare War against Russia—Gustavus III. attacks the Russians—Naval Battle of Hogland—Benzelstierna attempts to burn the Russian Fleet at Copenhagen—Capture of Oczakoff—Peace of Varena—Capture of Ismail—Disgrace of Momonoff—Zouboff becomes Favourite—Fawkenner at Petersburgh—Peace of Yassi—Death of Potemkin.

A. D. 1787. **F**OR a long time Catharine had resolved to pay a visit to the Krimea, and to conduct her grandson Constantine up to the frontiers of the empire of the east, which she destined for him. Every thing was in readiness for this journey, when the young Prince was attacked with a species of measles, which obliged him to remain at Petersburgh.

Catharine also wished to have herself crowned at Kherson, as sovereign of the Tauride : but the news of the hostilities which had recently broken out between the Tartars and the Russians, made her renounce this pompous design, and a portion of the magnificence which she intended to display upon the theatre of her conquests.

The rumour of the Empress's excursion did not make upon the Georgians, the Lefghis, and the other inhabitants of those countries so vast and so little known, the effect which was expected. Instead of appearing flattered or dazzled at her approach, those people regarded it as the signal of imminent danger ; and having renewed their oath of union, they mutually engaged to make every resistance in their power to the oppression of the Russians.

The Empress took her departure, accompanied by her maids of honour, her favourite Momonoff, her

grand master of the horse Namischkin, Ivan Tchernischeff, the two Schouwaloffs, and by divers other courtiers, as well as the ambassador of Austria and the ministers of France and England. The sledges travelled by night as well as by day. A considerable number of horses had been assembled at each station; great fires were kindled at the distance of thirty fathoms from each other, and an immense crowd of the curious lined the road.

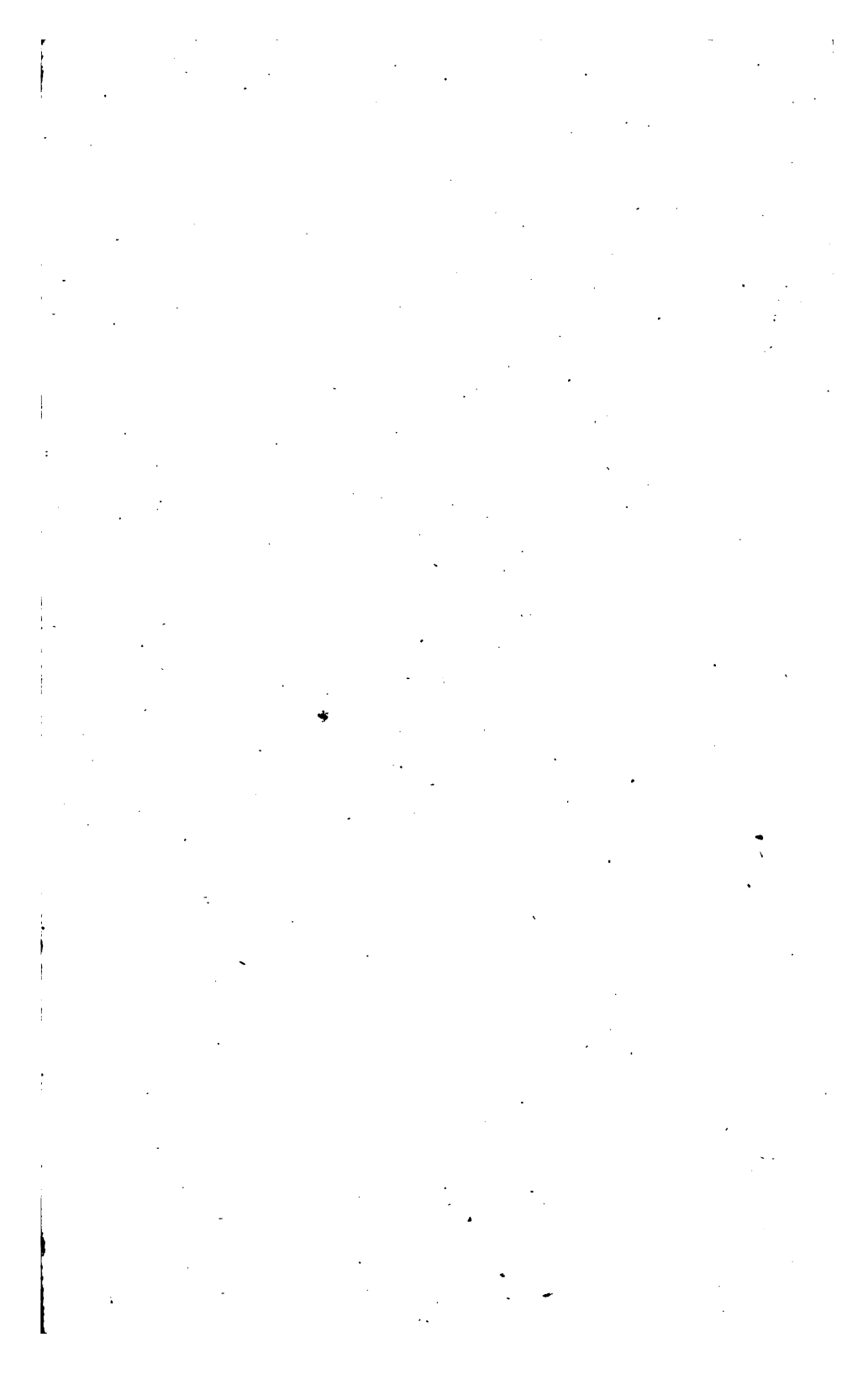
On the sixth day the Empress arrived at Smolensko. Fifteen days afterwards, she made her entry into Kioeff, where the Princes Sapieha and Lubomirsky, the Potockis, the Branitskys, and most of the other Poles devoted to Russia, had repaired to receive the Sovereign.

Potemkin had preceded that Princess. He rejoined her at Kioeff, as likewise did the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, who, some time before, had entered into the service of the Russians. Marechal Romanzoff was also there. Already wounded by the haughtiness of Potemkin, he had, during his stay at Kioeff, fresh reason to complain of it, and his dissatisfaction was very apparent. But whatever value the Empress might attach to the brilliant services of the conqueror of the Ottomans, the favour of Potemkin underwent no diminution.

Those rocks which obstructed the navigation of the Dnieper had been cleared away, and fifty magnificent galleys were prepared to receive the Empress. That Princess went, at the commencement of spring, to Krementschouk, and embarked there with her numerous retinue.

The next day the fleet came to an anchor opposite to Kanieff. The King of Poland, who had come thither under his ancient name of Count Poniatowsky, and had received 100,000 roubles for the expense of his journey, repaired immediately on board the galley of the Empress. These two sovereigns had not seen each other for the space of three and twenty years.

When





G.A.POTEMKIN TAVRITSCHESKY.

at the Age of 51 Years.

Published Feb.^r 18th 1800, by J. Stockdale, Piccadilly.

When they met, Catharine appeared in some degree confused. But Stanislaus retained all his presence of mind, and spoke with considerable confidence. In a short time, they remained alone in the apartment of the Empress, and had a conference, which lasted rather more than half an hour, and in which the King requested the Empress to cause Prince Joseph Poniatowsky his nephew to be declared the heir of the throne of Poland, to augment the revenues of his crown, and to grant to his subjects a free navigation on the Dnieper. Although the Empress was resolved to grant nothing which this feeble monarch wished, she gave him room to believe that he would obtain every thing; after which they passed into another galley, where they dined together. Catharine decorated her ancient lover with the ribbon of the order of St. Andrew.

Potemkin, who had never seen the Polish monarch, appeared enchanted with him. It is even probable, that to this favourable impression Stanislaus has been indebted, for the preservation of his throne a few years longer. Whatever might be the case, he withdrew at night apparently very well satisfied with the reception he had met with, and ordered a very beautiful fire-work to be displayed on the banks of the Dnieper. Afterwards the fleet continued its route.

At Kremenschouk; the Empress had been lodged in a palace built expressly for her, superbly ornamented, and close by which a beautiful garden had been laid out. She had found in this city an army of 12,000 men in new habiliments, who gave her a representation of war by manœuvring in four columns; with a square battalion of kosaks.

The journey by water was still more agreeable. The banks of the Dnieper were covered with artificial villages, with peasants elegantly dressed, and with numerous flocks, which resorted by cross-roads to the spots where the fleet approached the shore, and re-produced

produced themselves incessantly in the eyes of the travellers. The beauty of the season added still more to the magic of the spectacle which was presented to the Empress, and every thing combined to render delightful a country almost desert.

Joseph II. had preceded the arrival of Catharine at Kherfon. He hastened to meet her, and joined her at Kaïdak. Immediately she disembarked and repaired by land to Kherfon, whither the Emperor returned with her. There Catharine lodged at the admiralty, where a throne had been erected which cost 14,000 roubles. Thus, in order to gratify for a few moments the vanity of the Sovereign, the empire had long to bewail those pompous prodigies of a ruinous ostentation!

Kherfon appeared already an opulent city. It had several rich magazines, a port filled with vessels, and dock-yards well supplied. A vessel of sixty-six guns and a frigate of forty, were launched in presence of the Empress. In traversing the enclosure of the city, that Princess read upon the gate towards the east, a Greek inscription, which signifies—THIS IS THE ROAD WHICH LEADS TO BYZANTIUM.

There were at that time at Kherfon a considerable number of foreigners. You beheld among them Greeks, Tartars, Frenchmen, Belgians, Spaniards, Englishmen, Poles. Some of them had been attracted thither from curiosity merely, others from the desire of rendering homage to the Empress. Potemkin presented Miranda to her, who had been introduced to himself by a foreign minister, and who, obliged to fly his country, sought an asylum amongst the Russians, and is since become general in the French service.

Miranda assumed, in Russia, the title of Count, and wore the uniform of a Spanish colonel, though he had a title neither to the one nor the other. He arrived at Kherfon with a Frenchman named Lacroix,

croix, an intriguing and artful man, but inclined to debauchery, and who passed for a secret emissary of Calonne.

Among the women who resorted to the court of Catharine, was distinguished a Greek lady already celebrated, whose charms had made an impression on the heart of Potemkin, and seemed to entitle her to bear it away from the crowd of beauties who contended for his favours.

A long time before her departure from Petersburg, the Empress had dispatched Major-Sergius to Constantinople, to give notice to the divan that she was going to visit the Krimea. The divan appeared uneasy at it, and almost regarded this journey as an aggression. Preparations were made to oppose it; and, whilst the Empress was at Kherfon, four Turkish ships of the line and sixteen frigates anchored in the mouth of the Boristhenes. These vessels undoubtedly neither could nor would have attempted any thing; but their aspect chagrined Catharine. She contemplated them with indignation, and could not withdraw her eyes from them: "Do you see," said she to her courtiers, "it appears that the Turks have lost all recollection of Tcheshmé."

Joseph II. received at Kherfon the first news of the revolt of Brabant. Some persons exhorted him to repair immediately to Brussels, and to make use of great moderation in order to calm an irritated people.

This Prince gave no explanation respecting the manner in which he intended to conduct himself, nor did he take the route which led to his states. He on the contrary followed the Empress, who departed in order to visit the interior of the Krimea.

The Empress was received in the Krimea by the principal mirzas, whose troops made different evolutions in her presence. All at once a thousand Tartars surrounded the carriages and served them as an escort. Joseph II. who had not been forewarned of this intention, manifested some uneasiness; but the Empress

press preserved her tranquillity. These Tartars had been pre-appointed by Potemkin. They undoubtedly had not any evil design : but supposing this had been the case, could they have ventured to put it into execution ? Did not they know that Potemkin had, not far from thence, an army of 153,000 men ?

The Empress made a pompous entry into Batschiseraj, and lodged, as did likewise her retinue, in the palace of the Khan. At night she was entertained with the spectacle of a mountain which had been illuminated, and which appeared all in a flame. Wherever she went, every one was eager to attract her regards, and she endeavoured to gain all hearts. She assigned funds to build two mosques : she distributed considerable presents among the mirzas. The mirzas testified the most ardent devotedness to her ; and six weeks afterwards they wished to second the Turks.

On her return, the Empress was conducted to Pultawa. In a short time two armies made their appearance. They approached, they engaged, and gave Catharine an exact representation of the celebrated battle in which Peter I. defeated Charles XII.

This spectacle was worthy of Potemkin, and of the two sovereigns before whom he displayed it. Catharine said upon this occasion to one of her courtiers, who called upon her to remark a mistake made by the Swedes, " Behold then upon what the fate of " empires depends ! but for that mistake we should " not have been here."

Joseph II. upon whom the name merely of a warrior made a lively impression, could not refrain from deploring the misfortune of the Swedish monarch. Notwithstanding this he was extremely gratified with the whole conduct of Potemkin and of the Empress. That Princess had found the method of captivating him so completely, that he wished to assist her in procuring the coronation of her grandson at Constantinople.

Joseph

Joseph II. could not however help expressing his astonishment at beholding all the complaisance of the Empress towards Momonoff. The favourite sometimes strangely abused his ascendant over that Princess, and his vanity seemed to be flattered that he could produce illustrious witnesses of his puerile triumph.

At Moscow, Joseph II. separated from Catharine, and rapidly traversing Poland, returned into his states, whilst that Princess re-entered Petersburg.

The unfortunate Sahim-Gherai was no longer in the Crimea when the Empress went thither. After having stripped him of his power, Potemkin kept him for some time under his eye in Kherson, where that imprudent Tartar wore the uniform of commandant of the Preobraginsky guards, and decorated himself with the ribbon of a Russian order. He was afterwards banished to Kalouga; the payment of his pension was stopped; he was left in the most destitute condition, and was obliged to abandon his native land, to throw himself into the arms of the Turks, whom he might have regarded as his most inveterate enemies, if the Russians had not really been so.

He withdrew at first into Moldavia, where a capigibachi and the hospodar counselled him a long time in vain to repair to Constantinople. Colonel de Witt, then commandant of the fortress of Kaminietz, and servilely devoted to Potemkin, joined his solicitations to those of the capigibachi. But Sahim-Gherai resisted. He had a presentiment, undoubtedly, of the melancholy fate which awaited him. At last, his person was seized, and he was transported to the isle of Rhodes. There Sahim-Gherai thought of saving himself in the house of the French consul, from whom the Turks hastened to redemand him. The consul, thinking that they would not presume to violate his asylum, had the noble courage to refuse to render up the man who had placed himself under his protection: but they threatened to set fire to his house, and, seizing

seizing the instant when he had gone out, they carried off the arms of France from over his door, which they fastened to a neighbouring house, and strangled the unfortunate Khan. It was thus that the Turks avenged themselves for the defection of this Prince, and that the Russians recompensed him, for having ceded his states to them.

Some time before the departure of the Empress for the Crimea, the minister Bakounin, charged with the department of foreign affairs, and enjoying at first the highest degree of favour, received orders to travel. Bezborodko wished to place Arcadius Markoff at Petersburg. Nothing more was necessary to procure the banishment of Bakounin. But whether it was that he could not overcome the chagrin of losing his place, or that some other cause accelerated the termination of his days, Bakounin did not carry away any secrets of state into a foreign country: he fell ill, and died very shortly after.

Markoff was then recalled from Stockholm, and succeeded Bakounin, whilst Andrew Razoumoffsky, whose talents and boldness were valuable to Catharine, passed from Denmark into Sweden.

Markoff, the son of a Russian peasant, and at first secretary to Prince Gallitzin, minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, had accompanied Prince Repnin to the congress of Teschen, and was afterwards sent to Rome and to Paris, from whence the Empress made him pass into Sweden. Active and cunning, he suited Bezborodko extremely well, of whose inclination for libertinism he likewise partook. An intimacy therefore was formed between them, of which the latter had very soon reason to repent.

However, Potemkin wished at any price to engage the Turks to commence hostilities. Independently of the hope of farther dismembering the Ottoman empire, a secret motive made him wish for war, and rendered it necessary to him. Loaded with titles, with honours, with dignities, with the crosses of knight-hood,

hood, he wished to add to them the grand ribbon of the order of St. George. In order to obtain this, it was requisite to command an army, to gain a victory, and to occasion the massacre of a multitude of soldiers. But what were the lives of several thousands of men in the eyes of Potemkin, in comparison of a ribbon which flattered his pride?

Bulgakoff, minister of Russia at Constantinople, was come to Kherfon to render an account to the Empress of his secret operations, and of the dispositions of the divan. This minister had a channel of intelligence of what was going forward in Egypt, through the medium of Baron de Tholus, consul-general of the Russians at Alexandria. Another consul, whom Russia maintained at Smyrna, and who was named Peter Ferrieri, abandoned himself to all the intrigues of which an audacious Italian could be capable. A third attempted to make an insurrection in Moldavia. The Russian vessels abused all the privileges which the Porte had granted them, and the court of Peterburgh continually encouraged this violation of treaties.

The Porte, displeased with this conduct, and provoked at a discovery which had been made of a correspondence between the Bey Ibrahim, one of the governors of Cairo, and the Russian minister, charged the Capitan-Pacha to go and re-establish order in Egypt. A few days afterwards, the Grand-vizir and the Reis-effendi demanded a conference with the minister Bulgakoff, and transmitted to him a succinct memorial, to which they requested his reply immediately. This memorial contained the following particulars.

“ That experience having proved the Russian conduct in Moldavia to be a disorderly and turbulent man, who made use of every means to disturb the peace of the two empires, the Grand-signor insisted that this man should quit his states without delay :

That

“ That the troubles which had desolated Georgia for two years past, being evidently the effect of the protection which the Empress had granted to Prince Heraclius, contrary to the spirit of treaties, it was just that the Russian troops should evacuate Teflis, and withdraw to a sufficient distance from that kingdom, in order to the restoration of tranquillity in it :

“ That the Russian vessels which passed before Constantinople having always prohibited goods on board, his Highness insisted that all those vessels should be visited without exception :

“ That the sublime Porte, being informed with certainty that Prince Alexander Mauro-Cordato, who fled from Yassi at the beginning of February, had found an asylum in Russia, demanded that this Prince should be given up :

“ That it was necessary the Russians should furnish to the inhabitants of Oczakoff a greater quantity of salt than they had hitherto done :

“ That, finally, the Grand-signor demanded the privilege of establishing, in the Russian states, agents to protect the commerce of his subjects.”

In order to reply to this memorial, Bulgakoff requested time to consult his court. It was granted him : but in a short time the divan assembled anew, and decided that it was useless to wait for a reply from Petersburg. War was proclaimed in Constantinople, and Bulgakoff shut up in the castle of the Seven Towers.

The internuncio of the court of Vienna and the ambassador of France mutually exerted their influence with the divan to procure the release of Bulgakoff. Their attempts were ineffectual. The minister of England had at that time a greater degree of credit, and he warmly seconded the resentment of his court, which had seen with jealous eyes Russia form a commercial treaty with France.

The

The Turks made preparations for war with the utmost activity. They marched 80,000 men to cover Oezakoff. A formidable army advanced towards the banks of the Danube, and the Grand-vizir was making ready to unfurl the standard of Mahomet at the head of the Ottoman troops.

A squadron of sixteen ships, eight frigates, and several row-boats, entered the Black Sea, under the command of the Capitan-Pacha Gazi Hassan.

This old admiral returned from Egypt, where he had brought the rebel Beys, Ibrahim and Mourad, into subjection, and received a tribute of more than 12,000,000 of piastres. But this success had not rendered him insolent: he still recollected with grief the disasters of Tschiesmé. Before he took his departure for the Crimea, he assembled the principal officers of his squadron, and addressed them as follows.

" You know from whence I come, and what I have
" done. A new field of honour summons me, as well
" as you, to sacrifice our last breath for the honour
" of our religion, and in the service of the Sultan and
" of the invincible Nation, which, in the present cir-
" cumstances, demands the last drop of our blood. It
" is to fulfil this sacred duty that I at present separate
" myself from those of my family who are most dear
" to me. I have given liberty to all my slaves of both
" sexes: I have paid all that I owed them, and re-
" warded them according to their deserts. I have bid
" a final adieu to my wife: I go at last into the
" heat of battle, in the firm resolution to conquer or
" to die. If I return, it will be a singular favour of the
" Almighty. I do not desire to see my days pro-
" longed, but that I may have it in my power to ter-
" minate them gloriously. This is my unalterable
" determination.

" You, who have always been my faithful com-
" panions, I have convoked, to exhort you to follow
" my example at this decisive conjuncture. If there
" be any one among you who does not feel that he

“has courage to die in the field of honour, he may declare it freely : he shall find grace in my fight, and shall immediately receive his discharge. Those, on the contrary, whose hearts fail them in executing my orders in action, must not pretend to excuse themselves by attributing their flight to contrary winds or to the disobedience of their crews ; for I swear by Mahomet, and by the life of the Sultan, that I will cause them to be beheaded, as well as their whole crew. But he who shall display courage in acquitting himself of his duty, shall be liberally rewarded. Let all those who wish to follow me on these conditions arise then, and swear to obey me faithfully.”

At these words all the captains, having risen up, swore to conquer or to die with their noble admiral. “Yes,” cried he upon this, “I acknowledge you for my gallant and faithful companions ! Go, return to your several ships ; order your crews to assemble, communicate my purpose to them, receive their oath of fidelity, and hold yourselves in readiness to set sail to-morrow.”

The Turks suspected the fidelity of the Greeks : they disarmed them all : at the same time they published a manifesto to invite the Tartars to put themselves under the government of the Grand-signor. This people regretted their ancient yoke, and detested the new one. In vain did the Empress lavish presents upon them ; in vain did she command the Koran to be printed, and mosques to be erected ; they only saw a Christian in her, and at the bottom of their hearts preferred a Mussulman Prince. The mirzas then assembled, and elected for their Khan Szach-Par-Gherai, who very shortly saw under his command an army of 40,000 men.

The news of the war was received at Petersburg with transports of joy. The Empress had long foreseen it, and waited for it with impatience. All her preparations

preparations were made. She had already a considerable number of troops in the Kuban; others marched toward the Crimea. Her armies covered the coast from Kaminietz as far as Balta. Potemkin, commander in chief of all these forces, had under his orders Souwaroff, Repnin, Kamenskoï, Kakofsky, and a multitude of other generals. Marechal Romanzoff, who did not choose to contribute to the glory of Potemkin, excused himself on account of his great age, and refused a command which the remains of a forced respect had been constrained to offer him. One of his sons went to join the army.

A fleet of eight ships of the line, twelve frigates, and near two hundred chebecs or gun-boats, was armed in the Black Sea; and two powerful squadrons, under the command of Admiral Kruse and Admiral Greig, were to leave Cronstadt, the one to cruize in the Baltic, the other to repair to the Mediterranean.

The alliance of Joseph II. assured farther to the Empress a powerful assistance. This Prince desired not less than she did to go to war with the Turks. Eighty thousand Austrians marched towards Moldavia. Every thing seemed to announce the overthrow of the Ottoman empire.

Catharine, however, disguising both her sentiments and her injustice, published a manifesto, in which she reproached the Turks with the infraction of treaties, which she alone had violated; and after a long enumeration of the pretended crimes of the Porte, she added:

“That, provoked by a conduct so offensive, she was very reluctantly obliged to have recourse to arms, as the only means of maintaining those rights which she had acquired at the price of so much bloodshed, and to avenge her dignity, wounded by the violence exercised towards her minister at Constantinople: that, entirely innocent of all the calamities which war inevitably gives birth to,

"she had a title to reckon, not only upon divine Providence, and upon the assistance of her allies, but likewise upon the good wishes of the whole Christian world, for the success of a cause so just as that which she was obliged to defend.

This manifesto was very soon followed by a second, which announced, "That the Porte. had expressed the arrogance of insisting upon a categorical reply to its absurd demands; and that the Empress, obliged to repel the aggression of the enemy of the Christian name, armed herself with confidence under the protection of that just God, who had so long and so powerfully protected Russia."

In support of these writings, by which Catharine wished to conjure heaven and earth against the Ottomans, means were employed better adapted to the superstition of the Russians: the prophecies of Jeremiah and of Nicon were published with emphasis, which predicted the approaching ruin of Constantinople. This was at the same time an indirect method of opposing a kind of false prophet, named the Bey Mansour, who, by assuring them that an angel appeared to him in the midst of the woods, had succeeded in assembling an army, and had stirred up against the Russians all the Tartars of the Caucasus.

The Empress earnestly solicited the minister of France to engage his court to unite with her for the purpose of dismembering the Ottoman empire. As the price of this service, she offered to cede to France the possession of Egypt, the conquest of which she imagined to be indubitable. But the minister was far from putting any confidence in that bait. He knew, that supposing Turkey to have been divided, Egypt would most probably have been less suited to the French than the isle of Candia: he knew, that although it was of advantage for France to have a treaty of commerce with the Russians, she had a still greater interest in preventing the ruin of the Turks, with whom she carried on a commerce more certain,

tain, more lucrative, and nearer to her: he knew, in fine, that the feeble government of Constantinople could never threaten, as that of Peterburgh had done, to derange the equilibrium of Europe. Besides, Could Catharine reckon upon the submission of Egypt? Her consul-general Tholus had, it is true, several correspondencies there; he had gained over the Beys Ibrahim and Mourat; but the temptations he threw in the way of another Bey, named Ismaël, had not the same success. Ismaël caused him to be arrested, and sent him to the Pacha of Cairo, who kept him prisoner.

In inviting Christian Princes to take up arms against the Turks, Catharine assuredly did not imagine that they would second all her ambitious projects, or that they would even remain tranquil spectators of her triumphs. She was not ignorant that England encouraged the Porte to fight, and furnished her with assistance, and that Prussia did not submit very patiently to the aggrandizement either of Russia or of Austria. But what the Empress did not foresee was the step which Gustavus took, to declare all at once war against her.

From the time that Ostermann quitted Stockholm, his successors had faithfully imitated his conduct; but not one of them had distinguished himself by so great a degree of audacity as Andrew Razoumoufsky. Zealous to regain the favour of his sovereign, this minister laboured incessantly to sow division among the Swedish nobles, of whom the principal part were dissatisfied with their King, and had but too great an inclination to listen to the perfidious counsels of Russia.

Gustavus submitted to these manœuvres impatiently; he likewise beheld with indignation the court of Russia receiving with honour General Sprengporten, who, after having assisted him in re-assuming authority over the senate of Stockholm, thinking himself not sufficiently recompensed, had quitted his

country, to pass into the service of the Russians, and did his endeavour to excite revolt in Swedish Finland.

Gustavus resolved to take vengeance. Before the Turks had declared war against Russia, Heideftam, his minister at Constantinople, had already received orders to conclude a treaty of alliance offensive with them. The Turks recollected with respect the victories of Charles XII. They thought that a King of Sweden might make a powerful diversion in their favour. They promised to Gustavus considerable subsidies, a part of which were paid down immediately. Besides, Prussia lent him money, and England promised him the assistance of a Squadron. This Prince immediately made preparations for taking up arms.

A. D. 1788. A witness of the preparations which were carrying on at Stockholm, Andrew Razoumoffsky haughtily demanded the reason of them. Gustavus replied to him with still greater haughtiness, that he did not conceive himself under the necessity of accounting for his actions to any foreign power. It was at that time a sufficiently strange spectacle, an ambassador disputing in the capital of Sweden the rights of the Swedish monarch, and presuming to set bounds to his power. Gustavus, in just indignation, sent orders to Razoumoffsky to quit Stockholm. But the Russian found means, under divers pretexts, to defer his departure for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding this, the preparations for war were carried on with ardour. The fleet armed at Carlscrona; the troops which were to be embarked, rendezvoused around the capital; others marched into Finland. A report was artfully spread, that it was necessary to stand upon the defensive, because the court of Petersburg had menaced an attack upon Sweden, if Gustavus did not furnish her with assistance against the Turks. The Swedish soldiers burnt with the desire of coming to action with a nation which their ancestors had so frequently conquered.

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At last, they were embarked, and the fleet which conveyed them arrived in Finland, where Gustavus had preceded it.

Scarcely had the army reached the frontiers, when a small detachment of Russian chaffeurs made as though they would dislodge some Swedes who guarded a bridge. There were even several guns fired on both sides, which Gustavus did not fail to take as a declaration of war. His orders were already given, and his squadron took possession of two Russian frigates, cruising above Sweaburgh, to exercise the cadets of the marine of Petersburg.

Gustavus resolved to march against Frideriksham. But as they had not yet been able to disembark the heavy artillery which the squadron of Carlscrona carried, he formed the design of attacking that city on two different sides, and to take it by storm.

The consternation at Petersburg was universal. All the Russian armies had marched against the Turks. At first, the Empress could only send a few invalid soldiers and some detachments of her guards to the succour of Frideriksham. It was not doubted that Gustavus would take possession of that city, and likewise come to lay siege to the capital. Catharine was very much alarmed, but she uniformly preserved the appearance of the utmost tranquillity. The French ambassador entering the palace at that time, she asked him what news there was? "That you intend taking your departure for Moscow, Madam," said he to her. "You did not give any credit to this report?" replied she immediately. "I have ordered a great number of post-horses; but it is to convey troops and artillery."

She in effect assembled some troops which were scattered through the garrisons nearest at hand, and made them march into Finland, to join the detachments already there. The command of this incomplete army was confided to Mouschin-Pouskin, an inexperienced general, whose reputation was but little

calculated to quell the apprehensions of the inhabitants of Peterburgh.

A short time afterwards she wrote to the Prince de Ligne, who, out of flattery to this Princess, had given her the name of *unperturbable*, and who was at that period along with Potemkin.—“It is in the midst of “the noise of cannon which causes the windows of “my habitation to shake, that your unperturbable “writes to you.” She at the same time dispatched to Potemkin a plan of the dispositions which she had made against the King of Sweden, and put at the bottom, “Have I done well, my master?”

The Grand-duke had earnestly solicited the consent of his mother to go and fight against the Turks: but the Empress, apprehending that this resolution might conceal some dangerous design, had found means artfully to elude it. Taking advantage of a declaration of the Grand-duchess, who, although pregnant, had resolved to follow her husband, she informed the Prince, that the desire which he manifested to go into the field was sufficient to demonstrate his courage and intrepidity, and that the duties of a son, a husband and a father, obliged him to defer his departure till the Grand-duchess was delivered.

All the preparations of the Grand-duke were made. The pretended tenderness of his mother could not alter his determination. He insisted again that she should give him permission to depart, and the letter he wrote to her concluded thus:—“The intention “which I have expressed of going to fight the Ottomans is well known: what will Europe say when it “is seen that I do not put it in execution?” Catharine’s only reply was the following words:—“Europe “will say that the Grand-duke of Russia is a respectful son.”

However, when the army of Finland was assembled, the Empress allowed the Grand-duke to repair thither, but without giving him any command. The heir

heir of the empire, beholding himself in that army, deprived of all authority and surrounded with spies, could not remain long there. He returned to Petersburg, and fell ill with vexation : his mother did not appear in the least degree affected by it.

That Princess hastened to publish a declaration, in which, complaining of the conduct of the King of Sweden, and of the necessity which she found herself under of taking up arms against him, she artfully concealed the feebleness of her troops in Finland, and said, on the contrary, that the garrisons had been reinforced from precaution, a long time before the aggression of the Swedes.

She at the same time gave orders to the Baron de Nolken, minister of Sweden, to quit Russia.

The Swedish fleet, consisting of sixteen ships of the line, five heavy frigates, and several corvettes, proceeded up as far as Cronstadt, and incessantly bid defiance to the Russian squadron. This squadron was at first destined to go to the Mediterranean. The armament of the Swedes was the cause of the change of its destination : and undoubtedly Gustavus III. was guilty of a great error, for if he had not commenced hostilities till after the departure of that squadron, he would have remained master of the Baltic, and had a considerable advantage over Catharine. Admiral Greig had received orders to set sail, but a singular incident prevented his compliance.

The Empress had given the command of a vessel to the pirate Paul Jones, who had distinguished himself by his intrepidity in the American war. The English officers employed in the Russian fleet had not been previously informed of this ; and whether it was that some agent of their nation secretly incited them, or that they were really offended at serving with a man whom they regarded as a traitor, they repaired to the president of the Board of Admiralty, and declared that they could not remain in a squadron to which Paul Jones belonged. The Empress,

press, informed of this measure, and perceiving that seven out of eight of her ships ran the risk of being totally deprived of officers, concealed her vexation, and withdrew Paul Jones from serving in the fleet. That she might not appear to yield to circumstances, she resolved to give him an employment in the Black Sea, and ordered him to go and join Potemkin. Paul Jones departed immediately, distinguished himself at the battle of Liman, and was rewarded for it with the ribbon of Saint Anne. But, having accused the Prince of Nassau Siegen of not understanding how to profit by his advantages, he involved himself in a quarrel with that admiral, and returned to Peterburgh; where, in a very short time, means were found to get rid of him. A young girl was sent into the inn in which this sailor was lodged, who, in offering him some trifles for sale, cast a few tender glances upon him. He thought himself in duty bound to reply to them. The girl screamed out. The officers of the police, who were just at hand, entered, and Paul Jones was obliged to quit Russia.

The Russian fleet, under the command of Admiral Greig, set sail, and the naval battle of Hogland took place shortly after.

Although among the Russian vessels there were only eight which fought valiantly, victory remained with them. They lost a vessel of seventy-four guns; but they captured one of the same force, commanded by the brave Vice-admiral Wachtmeister, and they burnt one of sixty-four, under the command of Captain Christierning, an officer of considerable merit. The Swedes took refuge in Sweaburg, where the Russians kept them blocked up during the rest of the campaign.

It cannot be denied that some of the Swedish vessels did not do their duty; but their commanders were not punished in the same manner with the Russian officers who had been deficient in courage. Admiral Greig caused to be arrested and carried into Cronstadt

Cronstadt Captains Kotouzoff, Walderoun and Baranoff, and a council of war condemned the two first to suffer death, and the third to serve as a common sailor for the rest of his life.

Gustavus upon this proposed to the Empress an accommodation, on conditions calculated to wound the pride of that Princess. He demanded that Andrew Razoumoffsky should be punished in an exemplary manner, for the intrigues and the machinations which he had been guilty of carrying on at Stockholm: that the portion of Finland and of Karelia, ceded to Russia by the treaties of Neustadt and Abo, should be restored to Sweden: that the court of Petersburg should make peace with the Porte, under the mediation of Sweden, which should propose to re-establish the independance of the Crimea, conformable to the treaty of Kaïnardgi, and, in case of a refusal, fix the limits such as they were in 1768. He likewise insisted that Russia should lay down arms immediately, and consent that Sweden should remain armed till after the conclusion of the treaty.

"What language!" cried Catharine, upon hearing this. "If the King of Sweden were already at Moscow, I should know how to teach him what a woman like me is capable of, upon the ruins of a vast empire."

Instead of replying to the propositions of Gustavus, that Princess recalled General Mikhelson, who was fighting against the Turks, gave him the command of her army in Finland, and reinforced that army with 20,000 men.

The first attempts of Mikhelson were not crowned with success. He wished to dislodge a corps of Swedes advantageously posted in Sawolax, and thought that for this purpose he should attack them in front, whilst the deserter Sprengporten advised him to turn them. Mikhelson, listening with impatience to the advice of Sprengporten, said to him brutally, "Are you afraid?"

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Sprengporten preserved the utmost coolness, and replied only by these words, "Let us march."

The Swedes permitted the Russians to approach them, and when they were within reach of their artillery, they discharged a volley of case shot, which killed 500 of them: the rest retreated in disorder. Mikheelson upon this perceiving his error, profited by the counsel of Sprengporten, and took possession of the Swedish post.

Sprengporten, dangerously wounded in the first attack, remained maimed for the rest of his life. But of what consequence was the fate of a traitor? What should not be forgotten is the magnanimous conduct of his son, who, uniting to filial love the no less sacred love of his country, followed his father into the midst of battle, but would not draw his sword against Sweden.

But the Empress reckoned upon the defection of other officers of Gustavus, and they very soon proved that she did not deceive herself.

The Swedish monarch was already in the neighbourhood of Frideriksham. He had caused a part of his troops to embark in galleys, giving orders to General Siegoroth who commanded them, to go and land on the other side of the city, to commence the attack as soon as the troops should be landed, and to fire a cannon, which should serve as a signal for acting on two sides at once.

Siegoroth was kept back by contrary winds, and had great difficulty in landing. Notwithstanding this he made his point good, and gave the signal agreed upon. Immediately Gustavus made an attempt to advance his troops. But, although it was well known that the fortress was half dismantled and deficient in artillery, some of his principal officers, at the head of whom was Colonel Helićko, represented to him that it was very difficult to make the attack on the side on which he was; that their duty did not permit them

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to allow him to expose himself to an inevitable danger, and that he should likewise set some value on the lives of his faithful subjects.

It was not undoubtedly in this manner that the conquerors of Narva spoke; but Gustavus III. bore not the least resemblance to Charles XII. Notwithstanding, astonished at the language of his officers, he replied, that he would be obeyed. Upon this several of them joined together, and declared that they could not undertake an offensive war without the consent of the nation; that they would shed their blood in defence of their country, but that they could never resolve to make an attack upon a neighbour who had given them no provocation.

In despair at this resistance, the King addressed himself to the soldiers. Immediately the regiment under the command of Colonel Héstéko laid down their arms, and the greater part of the army followed their example. Gustavus ordered Lieutenant-colonel Rosenstein to go and desire General Siegoroth to cause his troops to re-embark, and withdrew to Kímenegorod. The next day he made all the officers embark who had refused to march, and sent them to Stockholm, where they were received with all the marks of the disapprobation of the public, and were immediately put under arrest.

This was not sufficient. It was before Frideriksham that he ought to have made an example of the offenders. But Gustavus was deficient in resolution. If he had instantly punished the perfidious Héstéko, and at the same time commanded his soldiers to march, in a few days afterwards he might have entered as a conqueror into Peteriburgh.

It was not to be doubted that the nobles, who longed to restore the ancient form of government, should have a desire to profit by this occasion to re-establish it, and should therefore act in concert with Russia. But several other officers, whom they had the address

dress to gain, were not in the secret; the soldiers, above all, could not possibly be so.

The defection of the Swedes was of more value to Catharine than one victory. Not content with this advantage, that Princess claimed, conformably to treaties, the assistance which Denmark owed her against Sweden. Although wisely the enemy of war, the court of Copenhagen shewed herself faithful to her engagements. She immediately ordered a squadron to arm; and the Prince Royal, accompanied by Prince Charles of Hesse, embarked for the purpose of going to Norway, and placing himself at the head of his troops.

The Norwegians, a simple and generous nation, who preserve in the midst of their rocks the purity of ancient manners, and the valour which rendered them so celebrated under Margaret of Waldemar; the Norwegians, whose majestic stature, flaxen hair, and reverend beard, recal the memory of their ancestors, of those heroes who have so frequently conquered England, and merited the honour of being sung in the strains of Ossian; the Norwegians did not hear in vain the signal for battle. At the voice of the Prince of Denmark, they crossed that passage which the death of Charles XII. dyed with blood, entered into the western provinces of Sweden, obliged a part of the regiment of Westrogothia at Quisfrum to capitulate, took possession of Oudewalla and of all the other places which came in their way, and proceeded to lay siege to Gottenburgh.

Gottenburgh is, next to Stockholm, the most considerable city of Sweden: the loss of it would have been almost irreparable to Gustavus. This Prince was already returned to his capital, when he learnt that siege was laying to Gottenburgh. He immediately sent the regiment of Yemland and his own guards to reinforce the garrison of that place, and he himself repaired to Dalecarlia. There he assembled the

the peasants, brought to their recollection what they had done for Gustavus Vasa, and conjured them to march with him for the defence of their country.

Three thousand Dalecarlians hastened to follow him. The inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces imitated them, and Gustavus very soon saw himself at the head of a numerous army : but, fearing that Gottenburgh might have surrendered before this succour arrived, he departed with one of his aids-de-camp and a domestic, disguised himself that he might not be recognized by the enemy, and penetrated as far as the gates of the city. He had at first some difficulty to obtain entrance. The soldiers would not be persuaded that it was their King. But at last the gates were opened to him.

Notwithstanding his presence, notwithstanding the army which followed him, Gottenburgh seemed to be in the utmost danger of falling. An unexpected interposition was the means of saving it.

Sir Gilbert Elliot, minister of England in Denmark, no sooner learnt that Gottenburgh was threatened, than he quitted Copenhagen, rapidly passed through Sweden, and repaired to the camp of the Danish Prince. He charged this Prince to raise the siege of Gottenburgh, and declared, that if he did not without delay evacuate the Swedish territory, England would order all the Danish vessels which were in her ports to be seized, and would send a squadron to bombard the castle of Kronenburgh.

The Prince of Denmark, restrained by these measures, was already making preparations to withdraw, when the Prussian minister arrived to second that of England. The truce was speedily concluded, and the army of the Danish Prince peaceably returned to Norway. Undoubtedly it was to the boldness and activity of Elliot that Gustavus owed the preservation of Gottenburgh. The threats which the minister uttered had not been prescribed to him, but they

they had the desired effect: his court did not fail to approve of them.

Meanwhile the Russian armies which fought against the Turks and the Tartars, frequently carried away the advantage. The first engagement took place near Oczakoff, and became fatal to the Ottomans.

The Pacha of Oczakoff put 6000 men on board of boats, who, with the design of surprising the fortress of Killburn, landed on the little promontory which is in front. Unfortunately for the Turks, general Souwaroff was in the fortress. He permitted them to disembark without opposition, and even encouraged them, by sending out some awkward marksmen, with orders to retire immediately, as if they had been frightened. The Turks fell into the snare: whilst their boats returned to Oczakoff for a reinforcement, Souwaroff marched out at the head of two battalions, with bayonets fixed, and all the Turks who were upon the beach were either massacred or drowned. Souwaroff received upon this occasion a dangerous wound in the neck.

Rear-admiral Woinowitch, who commanded, in the Black Sea, three ships of the line and eight frigates, refused to come to action with the Turkish fleet, five times stronger than his own; and, notwithstanding the entreaties of the English officer Priestman, who served under him, and who eagerly longed to engage, he retired under the cannon of Sewastopol. That timid prudence occasioned his disgrace. Potemkin dismissed him with ignominy.

The Russian squadron then was put under the command of Ouschakoff, and appeared to be more worthily managed. It fell in with that of the Capitan-Pacha, sixteen ships of the line strong, and obliged them to take to flight.

A short time afterwards, the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, who commanded the fleet of gun-boats of Nicolaëff, likewise attacked the Turkish squadron, which

which had entered into the Liman, burnt three of their vessels, and took several others. Nassau displayed considerable valour in that action; but he was indebted, principally, for his victory, to the courage and to the talents of two French officers, Varage and Verbois, of the Englishman Fanhaw, and of the Dutchman Winter; he owed it, above all, to a considerable battery which General Souwaroff had opened upon the point of Kilburn, and which obliged the Turkish squadron to run aground under the cannon of Ocza-koff.

Upon this occasion a proof was given of that courage which national pride can inspire, even in slaves. When the vessel of the Capitan-Pacha took fire, a Turkish sailor ran through the flames to save the admiral's flag, and whilst he was loosening it, a Russian, not less intrepid, darted into one of the ship's boats, sprung up the side of the vessel on the point of blowing up, bore away the flag, and took the Turk prisoner.

The generals Talizyn and Tékély defeated the Tartars of the Kuban in several rencounters. Tamara had already rendered himself master of Georgia, and was pressing on the Lesghis.

During this period the Russian government was making immense preparations for the reinforcement of the armies. The war department was entirely directed by Potemkin, or rather the whole empire was subservient to his orders; of consequence nothing which could ensure the success of this magnificent favourite was spared.

Some Russians, who professed an attachment to their country, but who were most probably only dissatisfied with, and jealous of, Potemkin, entertained at that time the most dismal apprehensions respecting the unlimited power with which he was invested. They thought, that in the distribution of the kingdoms and the principalities which he was going to conquer, he would take good care not to forget himself.

Time did not justify their opinion : but it was nevertheless well founded ; for Potemkin, in effect, conceived the transient design of forming a monarchy of all the countries of the Wallachians and Moldavians, and of causing himself to be declared their chief.

The Russian army, which occupied the banks of the Bogh, upon the confines of Poland, of Turkey, and of Little Tartary, was composed of 150,000 men, and had a formidable artillery. Another army, under the command of General Soltikoff, was destined to support, on the side of Moldavia, the Austrians, commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg.

However, the theatre of war presented at that time the most horrible spectacle. Famine, the plague, and carnage, had already laid waste the territory of the Tartars, and the frontiers of Russia, and of the Ottoman empire ; and, with the exception of forage, all that was necessary for the subsistence of the armies was obliged to be transported from a great distance.

A corps of Russians, joined to a part of the army of Cobourg, took possession of Khoczim. Repnin, Soltikoff, Souwaroff, Kamenskoï, frequently beat the Turks, who avenged themselves upon the Austrians.

Potemkin had been for some time laying siege to Oczakoff. Tremendous fortifications, an abundant supply of ammunition, a numerous garrison, and the rigour of the season, should, according to appearance, have rendered that place impregnable. The besiegers suffered so much from the cold that they had been obliged to dig subterranean huts for themselves ; they were straitened for provisions, and every night a considerable number of them perished. But the severe weather, which they supported with so much difficulty, assisted them to take the city. It was remarked, that an attack might be made on the side of the Liman, where it was less carefully fortified, and where the ice had rendered access easy. All at once Potemkin gave orders for the assault ;
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and, whilst he remained in his camp with his mistresses, his lieutenants, at the head of a party of troops, penetrated into the city, and spread carnage around. It must not, however, be imagined that Potemkin was backward through fear: he had been seen, for several days before, walking about with the utmost coolness, close under the cannon of the ramparts, because he learnt that some had the presumption to suspect his courage. He absented himself from the assault upon Oczakoff only because he thought he should not have it in his power to distinguish himself there-in an extraordinary manner.

The Prince of Anhalt-Bernburgh in no respect imitated the example of Potemkin. He entered first into the city at the head of the grenadiers and rangers. A well-disputed battle was fought both on the ramparts and in the streets. The Turkish soldiers defended themselves with an obstinate valour, and almost all perished with their arms in their hands. The rest of them were put to the sword, and a considerable number of the inhabitants shared the same fate.

The Russians gave up the city to pillage. They entered into every house, put the masters of them to death, took away the most valuable effects, and abandoned themselves to all the fury of plunder and debauchery. For three days successively Potemkin allowed this bloody execution to be carried on. It deprived of life more than 25,000 Turks. The siege of Oczakoff cost the Russians more than 20,000 men, of whom nearly 4000 perished in making the assault.

A. D. 1789. These victories were nearly as fatal to the conquerors as to the conquered. But Catharine was not the less eager to carry on the war. She ordered new troops to be raised throughout her dominions: she wished to reinforce at the same time her armies in the Krimea and upon the banks of the Danube, to establish others in Poland, and to march a considerable body against the Swedes. But

men became scarce in the Russian empire. A considerable number of exiles were recalled from the deserts of Siberia to make up the recruits.

During this time Gustavus III. occupied himself with his projects of vengeance. He could not forgive the Empress for the dissensions which she was incessantly fomenting in Sweden, nor the Danish government for the assistance which had been lent to Russia. A lieutenant-colonel, named Benzelsierna, determined to second the hatred of his master.

The Russian squadron had entered into the road of Copenhagen, where it was detained by the ice during the whole winter. The ambassador of Sweden, Sprengporten, was an open and generous old man, whom Gustavus respected, but in whom he did not place great confidence. Without recalling that ambassador, this Prince had given to a man named Albedyl the management of affairs, recommending it to him to observe carefully the proceedings of the Russians and of the Danes.

Benzelsierna soon joined Albedyl. Under pretence of undertaking some operation of commerce, he formed a connection with the Irish captain O'Bryen, purchased his vessel, for which he paid him, in advance, 12,000 rix-dollars, and allowed him to keep the command, engaging, by a note of hand, to give him an equal sum if his enterprise was successful. He afterwards caused the vessel to be loaded with casks pitched both out and in-side, and filled with brandy, and gave him orders to take advantage of the first north-east wind to quit the port, at the same time setting fire to his vessel. Had this execrable project succeeded, not only the whole Russian squadron, but the Danish fleet likewise, must have been consumed.

O'Bryen ventured to mention what he had undertaken to one of his friends, named Ties. This latter was filled with horror at such a confidence, and hastened to disclose it. The Danish government immediately sent to examine the ship, and caused O'Bryen
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to be arrested. Benzelftierna had escaped to the house of Albedyl, who conveyed him to the sanctuary of a minister of his acquaintance, from whence he got off at first under favour of a footman's livery. A short time after this rascal was taken, shut up in the citadel of Copenhagen, tried, and condemned to lose his life: but this punishment was afterwards changed into perpetual imprisonment, which lasted till 1797, the epocha at which Russia gave permission for him to be released.

The Danish sailors, stirred up by the Russians, assembled in great numbers before the door of Albedyl. They intended to massacre him, and to set fire to his house. But, having foreseen this riot, Albedyl had already saved himself by flying to Scania. A detachment of soldiers dispersed the mutineers.

The attempt of Benzelftierna was not calculated to reconcile the court of Russia to that of Stockholm. The operations of the war in a short time recommenced. The squadrons of the two nations fell in with each other off Bornholm, but the wind did not permit them to come to action. Soon after they met again near Gothland; and, although the Russian admiral Tschitschagoff, and the Swedish admiral Lilienhorn, wished at that time to avoid an engagement, the rear of their fleets, which then had the lead, engaged each other, and fought valiantly during three or four hours.

The Russian vessel, under the command of the Englishman Preston had 160 men killed or wounded. Three guns burst upon the upper deck, and blew up several of the crew; but the intrepid Preston remained calm, gave the necessary orders, and continued the fight.

Another English captain, named Tisiger, who commanded a vessel of 66 guns, nobly sustained the combat against Vice-admiral Modée, one of the most gallant of the Swedes.

The next day, Lilienhorn, who might with his division have broken through that of the Russian vice-admiral Mouffin-Pouschkin, neglected that advantage, which, without doubt would have prevented the disasters that the Swedish fleet soon after encountered.

Captain Tchitchoukoff, commodore of a small squadron, took possession of the important post of Porkala; and from that time the Russians kept possession of it till towards the approach of winter.

The Swedes had a fleet of galleys and gun-boats. The Empress opposed to them one of equal force, the command of which she gave to the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, who, having had some difference with Potemkin, could no longer serve upon the Black Sea.

The Russian galleys surprised the Swedish galleys near Røgersalm; and Nassau, constantly assisted by the counsels of Varage, of Winter, and of a Milanese named the chevalier de Litta, for the second time caused the Russian flag to triumph. Winter, to whom the success of this day was principally owing, was hit by a cannon ball, and died of his wound.

During the engagement of the galleys, the Russians had attacked the Swedish army, which was still in the neighbourhood of Frideriksham. They had no less advantages by land than by sea. They obliged the troops of Gustavus to evacuate Russian Finland.

A. D. 1790. This monarch having collected new forces, made preparations for returning into the Russian territory. But Catharine had found time to make her preparations of defence. The two armies came to action at Aborsfors, and the Russians, commanded by General Numsen, obtained a brilliant victory.

Gustavus was not discouraged by his repeated defeats. He embarked on board his fleet of gun-boats, and went in search of the Prince of Nassau, from whom he took twenty-three vessels. In a short time afterwards,

afterwards he landed, at five miles from Petersburg, several battalions of infantry, and some squadrons of light troops, and took possession of the important post of Parda-Koffsky, which opened him a passage into the Russian Sawolax. The alarm spread anew over the capital. The Empress was at Tzariko-Zelo, and did not leave that country palace, but gave orders to General Igælfrom, who commanded in the absence of Ivan Soltikoff, to spare no effort to retake Parda-Koffsky. Igælfrom immediately marched against this post a column of 8000 chosen men, the command of which he confided to the brave Prince of Anhalt-Bernburgh, who was killed at the very commencement of the attack, as was likewise Baïkoff, who commanded under him. The 8000 Russians fought with the utmost intrepidity, and lost the half of their force, without being able to dislodge 2000 Swedes who defended the post. However, these Swedes would have fallen the victims of their own courage, if the thaw which came on had not put it out of the power of the Russians to make a fresh attack upon them, with more considerable force.

The grand Swedish squadron, under the command of the Duke of Sudermania, and composed of twenty-six ships of the line and of several frigates, chose to go in quest of the Russian fleet up to the very port of Revel. That imprudence cost him two ships. The Swedes committed a fault still more dangerous: they sailed into the gulph of Viburgh with both their squadrons, and the fleet of gun-boats which Gustavus III. commanded. Every thing at that period seemed to threaten the total destruction of the Swedish marine: but it was saved by two Russian admirals, Tschitschagoff and Nassau.

Tschitschagoff, who commanded a squadron far more numerous than that of the Swedes, neglected to fortify with batteries the two passages, by which alone the Swedes could have possibly escaped. These last, who were in want of provisions, and could no

longer remain in the gulph, attempted to leave it by setting fire to the Russian squadron which defended the best passage. The wind was favourable. They set sail, and were preceded by a fire-ship, which would have forced the Russians to disperse. But the match was too soon applied to the fire-ship, which run aground on a sand-bank, and did no injury to the Russians, whilst it destroyed several Swedish vessels, that the wind violently dashed upon her. Nine ships, three frigates, and more than twenty gun-boats, fell into the hands of the Russians.

This advantage so important was fatal to several English officers in the service of Russia. Captain Dennison's head was carried off by a ball; Captain Marshall, attempting to board the enemy's vessel, fell into the sea and was drowned; Captains Miller and Aiken had, the one his leg, and the other his thigh, broken; and finally, Captain James Trevannion, one of the most skilful and most brave officers in the service of Catharine, was mortally wounded by a cannon ball, and died at the end of five days. He had already taken possession of the posts of Hanhoud near Abo, and of Borefund near Sweaburgh, and he commanded one of the five vessels which blocked up the narrowest passage of the bay of Viburgh.

The rest of the Swedish galleys had retired behind the rocks of Schwenkfund, which form several little isles on the water's edge. The Prince of Nassau, whose fleet was twice as strong as that of Gustavus, advanced to engage it. His ignorance gave an immense advantage to the Swedes; he was completely beaten, and lost the half of his fleet, and more than 10,000 men. However, his vanity did not abate in the slightest degree. Absurdly imagining that the officers whom he commanded had suffered themselves to be beaten in order to tarnish his glory, he wrote to the Empress:—"Madam, I have had the misfortune to fight with the elements, the Swedes, and the Russians. I hope that your Majesty will do me
"justice."

"justice." The Empress sent him the following reply:—"You are in the right, because it is my pleasure that you should be so. This is aristocratical, but that suits the country in which we are. Reckon always upon your affectionate CATHARINE."

The battle of Schwenkfund accelerated peace. Gustavus III. already beheld all the imprudence of his conduct. He no longer flattered himself that the war which he had declared with the Russians would be followed with any signal success, or make an useful diversion in favour of the Turks. He apprehended, on the contrary, that the Russians might profit by the destruction of his marine, the disordered state of his finances, and the discontent of the Swedish nobles, to invade his states. He accepted then, without hesitation, the propositions which the Empress made to him.

The minister of Spain at the court of Russia, Galvez, offered his mediation to Catharine, and zealously occupied himself to obtain favourable conditions from that Princess, by promising that Gustavus should march immediately against the French. This was precisely what the Empress wished. She pretended to forgive her enemy, in the hope of seeing him engage in a distant enterprise. The better to impose upon him, she affected to display generosity: she demanded only the re-establishment of the treaties of Neustadt and Abo, and the total obliteration of the last quarrels. In consequence the treaty was signed without delay at Varela.

During the war of Finland, Catharine exercised at once her clemency and her severity. Some Swedish officers, employed in the capacity of teachers in the corps of cadets at Petersburg, dared to keep up a correspondence with their compatriots, in which they spoke of the Empress in a very bold, though undoubtedly a very just manner. Their letters were intercepted and conveyed to that Princess, who read them through. Immediately the Swedes were arrested,

rested, and examined by Stepan-Ivanowitz Schischkoffsky, chief of the secret commission, and by an estimable officer whom the Empress had placed along with him, in order to temper his savage disposition. The offence was proved, and the culprits seemed to deserve death. However, the Empress contented herself with banishing them into the interior of her provinces. She even continued to them their appointments, and on the return of peace, sent them back into their own country.

At the same time Radischeff, director of the customs at Peterburgh, published the relation of a journey from Peterburgh to Moscow, in which he feigned to have had a dream, and gave an energetic picture of the despotism of Potemkin. He even presumed to attack the Empress in it. Although Radischeff had himself printed his relation with types which he had in his own house, he was soon detected, and exiled into Siberia.

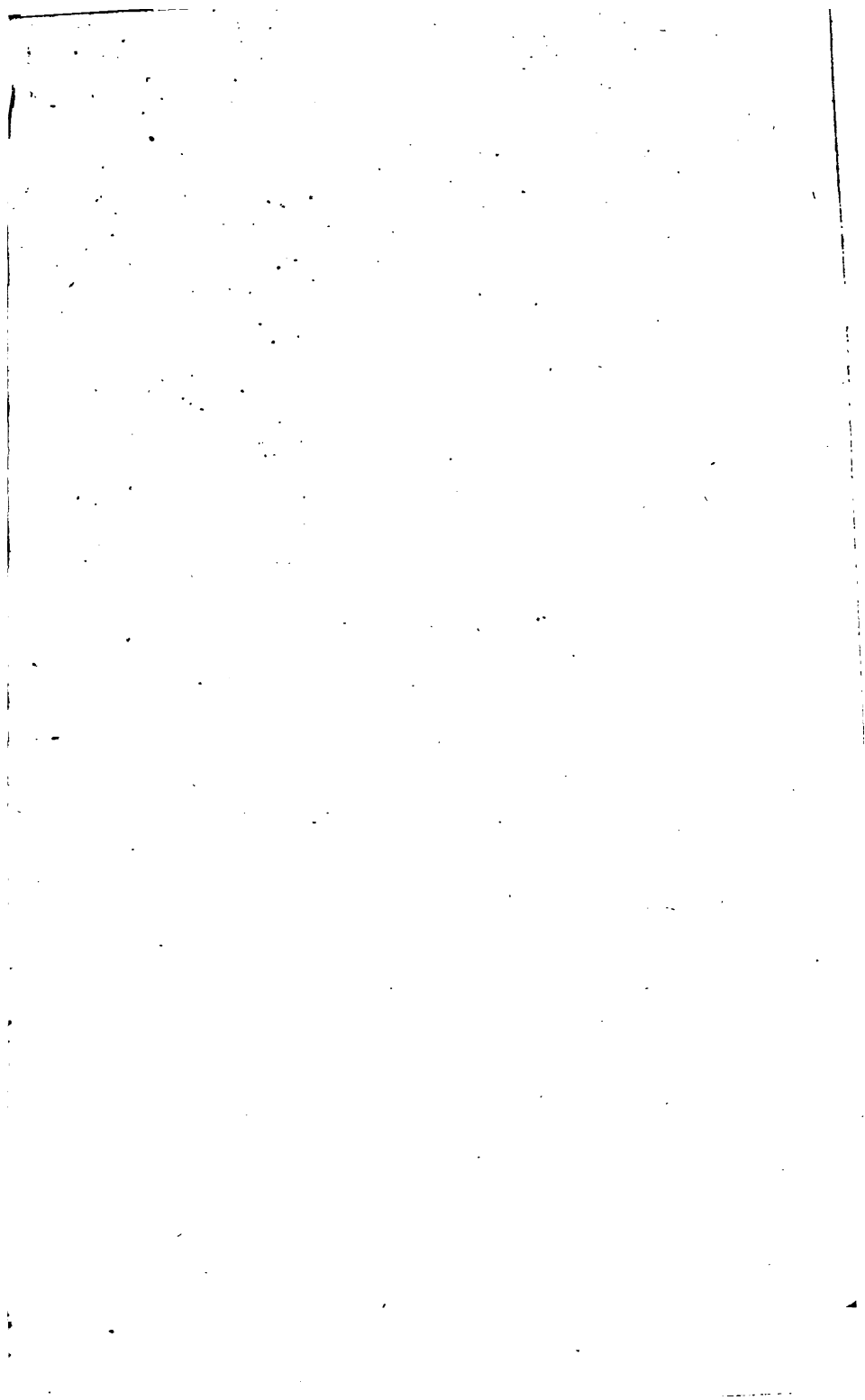
Count Alexander Woronzoff, and the Princess d'Aschkoff his sister, the avowed protectors of Radischeff, were accused of having incited him to compose his pasquinade. The first was even exposed to the examination of the secret committee, and from this moment, both the one and the other lost their credit considerably.

Thus Catharine treated the Swedes with a feigned generosity, because she wished to make herself partisans in Sweden, whilst she frequently exercised the utmost severity towards the nation already subjected to her yoke.

The war of Russia with Sweden has for some time diverted me from that which she carried on against the Ottomans. I shall now return to it. The Grand-signor Abd-Ul-Hamid IV. was dead, and the son of the Sultan Mustapha, his brother and predecessor, had ascended the throne, under the name of Selim III.

The capture of Oczakoff, and the successes which had preceded it, were magnificently recompensed.

The





FIELD MARSHAL SUWAROW RIMNIKSKY.

Published Feb.^r 18.th 1808, by J. Stockdale, Fleetdilly.

The Empress sent to Potemkin a present of 100,000 roubles, with a truncheon adorned with diamonds, and surrounded with a branch of laurel, the leaves of which were gold. A short time after she granted him the title of hetman of the Kosacs; a title which the aged Kyrille Razoumoffsky, still living, had resigned more than twenty years before. She gave to Prince Repnin a sword, the handle of which was ornamented with brilliants, and to General Souwaroff a plume of diamonds. The other generals and officers likewise obtained some mark of favour, and all the soldiers who had entered Oczakoff received a silver medal, with a request to wear it at their button hole.

Undoubtedly, these rewards excited a great emulation in the Russian armies. All their steps were marked with triumph. Potemkin subjugated the isle of Berezan; Repnin drove the Turks from the banks of the Solska. Souwaroff beat them completely at Foksan. Understanding afterwards that the Austrian army, commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, was closely pressed by that of the Grand Vizir, he put himself at the head of 8000 Russians, and hastened to the succour of the Austrians. These latter, to the number of 30,000, had been already put to flight by the Turks, who attacked them with an army of 100,000 men. The intrepid Souwaroff arrived, and changed the fate of arms.—“Friends!” cried he to his soldiers, “do not look at the eyes of the enemy. Look at his breast: it is there you must plunge your bayonets.” At the same instant he fell upon the Turks, and made a horrible carnage among them, and remained master of the field of battle. This victory, obtained near the river Rimniks, procured to Souwaroff the surname of Rimniksky, and the double title of Count of the Roman and of the Russian empires.

The ferocious Kamenskoï reduced to ashes the superb city of Galatza, upon the Danube, and the principal one of Moldavia next to Yassi, which it surpassed

ed in respect of commerce. Ac-Kerman, Chedsebey, Belgorod, Palanka, yielded to the arms of Potemkin. Bender surrendered at discretion.

Ismaïl still made resistance. Potemkin had laid siege to that place for seven months, and was out of patience that he had not already reduced it. Living in his camp like one of the ancient Satraps, whom he alone in our days has rivalled, and perhaps surpassed in luxury, he was surrounded with a croud of courtiers, and of women, who employed their utmost endeavours to amuse him. One of those women, pretending to read the decrees of fate in the arrangement of a pack of cards, predicted that he would take the besieged city at the end of three weeks. Potemkin replied with a smile, that there was a method of divination much more certain. At the same instant he sent orders to Souwaroff to take Ismaïl in three days. Souwaroff got ready. The third day he assembled his soldiers, and said to them: "My children! no quarter; provisions are dear." He immediately gave the assault. The Russians were repulsed twice with considerable loss. But at last, they scaled the ramparts, penetrated into the city, and put all to the sword. Fifteen thousand Russians, and 35,000 Turks paid with their lives for the bloody laurels of Souwaroff. This General, on the occasion, wrote to the Empress these words simply: "The haughty Ismaïl is at your feet."

The celebrated Gazi-Hassan, who, from the post of Capitan-Pacha, had been elevated to that of grand-vizir, could not support so many disasters. He died of grief in his camp. His successor was decapitated at Schumla, and the Pacha Yousouf succeeded him. But this alteration did not re-establish the fortune of the Turks.

Several French officers fought at the capture of Ismaïl. Roger Damas, Langeron, the young Richelieu, distinguished themselves there, and were not on that account better treated by Potemkin. Some days afterwards,

afterwards, this last conversing on the French revolution, and regarding as an outrage the efforts of a nation which wished to recover its liberty, said to Langeron: "Colonel, your compatriots are fools; I should have occasion only for my grooms to bring them to reason." Langeron, who, although an emigrant, could not patiently suffer his nation to be slightly spoken of, haughtily replied:—"Prince, I do not believe that you could succeed in that attempt with your whole army." At these words Potemkin arose in a passion, and threatened to send Langeron to Siberia. Langeron went out immediately, and crossing the Sereth, which separates Moldavia from Walachia, withdrew into the Austrian camp.

Prince Gallitzin, who had passed the Danube, and had entered into Bulgaria, at the head of a corps of 12,000 men, obtained a victory over the Turks near Matzin.

On learning the triumph of her arms, Catharine felt her pride redouble. The English minister, Whitworth, having presented himself before her, that Princess said to him ironically: "Sir, since Mr. Pitt means to drive me from Petersburg, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople."

After the extreme severity with which the Greeks had been treated by the Ottomans at the conclusion of the last war, Catharine had reason to believe them eager to avenge themselves. She therefore sent manifestoes into all their islands, to invite this people to take up arms anew against the enemies of Christendom, and to re-conquer their invaded country, and recover their ancient independence.

The Greek Sottiri, who was in the service of Russia, was sent into Epirus and into Albania, to carry thither the manifestoes of the Empress, and to prepare, with the chiefs of those countries, a speedy insurrection. In a short time an army was seen to assemble in the environs of Sulli. It marched against the Pacha of Janina, and vanquished him in a pitched battle.

battle. The son of the Pacha fell in the engagement, and his splendid armour was sent to the Empress.

The Greeks afterwards raised a voluntary subscription, and, with the amount of that subscription, armed at Trieste, twelve small vessels, the command of which they gave to a seaman of their own nation, named Lambro-Canziani. Lambro traversed the Archipelago as a conqueror. The terror which he spread even as far as Constantinople, procured an order that almost all the Turkish vessels which were in the Black Sea, should repass the Bosphorus, to arrest the progress of the little Greek squadron.

During this time, the Empress sent into Sicily a man named Psaro, and some other emissaries, not only to get ready there what was necessary for the Russian squadron, destined to repair to those seas, but to furnish to the Greeks money and ammunition, and to do away the difficulties, which by a sordid policy, or a wish to keep on good terms with the Porte, led the Venetians to oppose them. But the faithless emissaries of Catharine did not fulfil her intentions, and divided among themselves and their base protectors, the money which had been entrusted to them.

Justly filled with indignation at this conduct, the Greeks sent to Petersburg a deputation which, after having been for a long time kept back from the throne by persons whose interest it was to prevent their being heard, obtained at last, thanks to the favourite Plato Zouboff, a private audience of the Empress. The deputies presented to that Princess a petition written in Greek and in French, and conceived in these terms :

“MADAM,

“It is not till after having solicited for a long time
“in vain the ministers of YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY,
“for a reply to the memorial which we have had the
“honour to convey to them, and driven to the ut-
“most

“ most despair by the idea of the dreadful misfortunes
“ which this delay may occasion to our compatriots;
“ who, invited by the manifestoes of YOUR IMPERIAL
“ MAJESTY, have taken up arms against the enemy
“ of the Christian name, and have deputed us to bring
“ the offer of their life and their fortune to the foot
“ of your imperial throne; it is not till after having
“ lost every hope of obtaining by any other means, a
“ prompt reply which may stop the torrents of the
“ blood of our brothers, that we presume, prostrated
“ at your feet, to present to YOURSELF our very humble Memorial.

“ Another duty, equally sacred to us, and which
“ is a principal object of our mission, leads us to take
“ this bold step: it is to undeceive YOUR IMPERIAL
“ MAJESTY, who are grossly imposed on as well as
“ your ministers. We have seen with indignation, the
“ chevalier Pfaro attempting to exalt himself into the
“ chief and the ruler of our nation, a man abhorred of
“ that very nation, from the refuse of which he has
“ arisen, and in which he would have remained, if,
“ by deceiving the ministers of your Imperial Majesty
“ with an unrivalled audacity, he had not procured
“ himself esteem by the recital of exploits which he
“ never performed. If the consequences were to be
“ fatal to no one but himself, we should wait with
“ patience till he presented himself in our countries;
“ a boast however which he will never have it in his
“ power to make, except in his writings. YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY will see in what manner he has acted towards us. He has taken immense sums, which he pretends to have expended for us: but we assure YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY, that neither he nor any one of the officers whom you have sent among us, have given us a single rouble. The flotilla of Lambro, and our other vessels, have been armed at our own expense. One of us has abandoned his peaceful fireside, to arm two vessels, which have cost him 12,000 sequins, and the Turks
“ have

" have massacred his mother and his brother, razed his house to the ground, and laid waste his lands.

" We have never demanded money, we demand none at present. We desire only that we may be furnished with powder and ball, which we have not an opportunity of purchasing, and that we may be led to battle. We are come to offer our lives and fortunes, not to supplicate for treasure.

" Deign, O GREAT EMPRESS ! GLORY OF THE GREEK FAITH ! deign to peruse our memorial. Heaven has reserved our deliverance for the glorious reign of YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY : It is under your auspices that we hope to wrest from the hands of barbarous Mahometans, our usurped empire, our patriarchate, and our holy insulted religion. Yes, thanks to you, we will deliver the descendants of Athens and of Lacedemon from the tyrannical yoke of those ignorant savages, under which a nation languishes, whose genius is not yet extinct, a people inflamed with the love of liberty, whom the weight of their chains have not yet degraded, and who have always presented to their view the image of the ancient heroes who have rendered their country illustrious, and whose example still animates her warriors.

" Our superb ruins recal to mind our ancient grandeur. Our numerous ports, our beautiful plains, the heavens which smile on us all the year round, the ardour of our youth, and even of our old men, all declare to us that nature is as propitious to us as she was to our ancestors. The race of our Emperors is extinct ; comply with the wish of our nation : give us for sovereign your grand-son Constantine, and we shall be what our forefathers were.

" We are not amongst the number of those who have presumed to deceive THE MOST MAGNANIMOUS OF SOVEREIGNS. Furnished with full powers and necessary instructions, we are *Deputies* from the nations

"nations of Greece, and as such, prostrated at the
"foot of the throne of HER, who, under God, we re-
"gard as our saviour. We declare ourselves, even to
"our last breath,

"OF YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY,

"The most faithful and most devoted Servants,

"PANO KIRI,

"CHRISTO LAZZOTTI,

"NICCOLO PANGALO."

"*Petersburgh, the — April, 1790.*"

The three Greek deputies were favourably received by the Empress. They were afterwards conducted into the apartment of her grandsons. They advanced to kiss the hand of the Grand-duke Alexander, who, instead of presenting it to them, pointed to his brother Constantine, saying, that to him they must address themselves. They then presented their homage to the young Prince, in naming him their Emperor, and they explained to him in Greek the object of their mission. Constantine replied to them in the same tongue: "Go, and let every thing be done according to your desire."

These Greeks transmitted to the Russian ministers a plan of the operations which they proposed to execute. After having received from the Empress the means of augmenting the squadron of Lambro-Canziani, with artillery and engineers to undertake the siege of strong places, they intended to open the campaign at Sulli, where their congress was, and where they kept up a correspondence with all Greece. Directing their first motions towards Athens and Livadia, and with their army divided into two corps, they reckoned upon being joined, on their march, by the troops of the Morea and of Negrepont, whither the squadron of Lambro was to repair. Afterwards re-united in order to enter into Thessaly, they flattered themselves that Macedonia would furnish them with considerable reinforcements, and that, on

arriving in the plains of Adrianople, their armies would be increased to at least 300,000 men. Their project then was to form a junction with the Russians, to go and take possession of Constantinople.

They hoped that, at the same time, the Russian fleet of the Black Sea would go and attack that city; and, go how it might, they believed themselves sufficiently powerful to vanquish the Ottomans and drive them out of Europe.

They had wisely calculated the employment of their troops, their victualling, the means of securing a retreat in case of a repulse, and in general all their resources, as well as the forces which the enemy might oppose to them. Catharine, flattered with a project so analogous to the ambition which she had to reign one day in Byzantium, sent the three deputies into Moldavia, that they might settle matters with Potemkin. After having given them their instructions, Potemkin allowed them to depart for Sulli, accompanied by Major-General Tamara, who was to be overseer of the expedition of the Greek army, and to furnish it with the supplies for which it might have occasion.

However, the assembling of an army of 150,000 Prussians upon the frontiers of Bohemia, the convention of Reichenbach, signed between Prussia and Austria, for the acceleration of the peace, and the warlike dispositions which the court of London manifested, caused a stagnation in the armament of the Greeks. But a very small part of the sums which the Empress had destined for them was transmitted, and it was recommended to them to hold themselves in readiness to act, but to undertake nothing till the arrival of a more favourable moment.

Lambro, whose squadron had spread desolation in the Ottoman seas, was at last constrained to yield to superior numbers. Attacked by a considerable fleet, he defended himself for a long time with vigour: but all his vessels were sunk, and this brave officer and
a small

a small number of his companions saved themselves in their boats among the rocks.

A. D. 1791. Profiting by the credit of some friends, he again armed a vessel, with which he destroyed some Turkish ships, but which at last met with the fate of his squadron. Lambro once more escaped in his long-boat, and took refuge in the mountains of Albania.

After having incited him to navigate under their flag, Russia declared him a pirate; and the agents of that power would not condescend to deliver him from the prison into which he had been thrown for the debts he contracted in her defence. A voluntary contribution of his compatriots procured his release.

Potemkin was not slow in returning to Petersburg, to enjoy his triumph. The Empress received him with transports of joy: she lavished entertainments and presents upon him, and gave him a palace estimated at 600,000 roubles, and a coat embroidered with diamonds, which cost 200,000. He himself displayed a pomp which appeared excessive even in the most magnificent court of Europe. The usual expense of his table was 800 roubles a-day: it was of course covered with the most dainty provisions and the rarest fruits. He could not do without cherries in the depth of winter, and paid for them about a rouble a-piece. At a repast which he gave to the Empress he ordered a considerable quantity of money to be thrown among the people.

But in a short time he quitted the capital to return to the army. Satiated with grandeurs, with triumphs, with pleasures, he was miserable every where. A fatal presentiment seemed to pursue him. He was not satisfied either with adulating courtiers, nor with the Sovereign who overwhelmed him with benefits, nor with himself. The presence of the new favourite, especially, chagrined him to the heart.

This favourite was Plato Zouboff. More important subjects have till the present moment prevented my mentioning him. I shall briefly relate the cause of his elevation and of the disgrace of his predecessor.

Momonoff was very much beloved of the Empress, and did not requite her tenderness. After the example of Potemkin, not content with the magnificent presents which the Empress lavished on him, he fraudulently extorted from her immense sums. But he lived with her as a slave, the gold of whose chains did not prevent him from feeling their weight, and not as a lover delighted to please. His heart was not however insensible. Catharine had in the number of her maids of honour, the daughter of Prince Scherbatoff, a pretty young girl, very witty, and with a considerable propensity to gallantry. Momonoff was soon captivated with her charms, and made successful love to her. His passion had not as yet passed the bounds of respect, when one day he heard Potemkin vaunting of the favour of the Princess Scherbatoff. Momonoff shuddered at it: he knew the unlimited power of Potemkin; he knew that it was sufficient for him to form desires to ensure their accomplishment. He flew to throw himself at the feet of the Princess Scherbatoff, and imparted to her his inquietude. To set his heart at rest, she granted him that which he dreaded seeing carried off by his rival. But in a short time he had fresh reason to be easy: Potemkin departed for the army.

This intrigue lasted a considerable time: it was known to all the court: Catharine alone had not perceived it. However, the jealousy of the courtiers opened her eyes; she was apprized that Momonoff deceived her, and she had very shortly clear proof of it. However offended she might be at this discovery, she dissembled her resentment. This was during the summer of 1789. The court was held at Tzarisko-Zelo,

Zelo, and the daughter of Count de Bruce, one of the richest heiresses of the empire, came to be presented there.

Catharine seizing this opportunity, said to Momonoff, that she wished him to marry the young Countess de Bruce. Momonoff supplicated her not to exact it of him. The Empress demanded the reason of his refusal. He was embarrassed: she insisted; and he fell at her feet, acknowledging to her that he had pledged his faith to the Princess Scherbatoff. She wished for no other explanation: the two lovers were affianced immediately, and a few days afterwards they were married in the chapel of the palace. Count Nicolai Ivanowitz Soltikoff, governor of the two young Grand-dukes Alexander and Constantine, assisted at the ceremony in the name of the Empress; after which the new married pair retired to Moscow.

Momonoff ought to have been grateful for the benefits of Catharine, and for the extreme moderation which she exercised towards him. But it is asserted that he had the imprudence to disclose to his wife the detail of his secret interviews with the Empress, and that his wife revealed them with a levity injurious to the Sovereign. It is added, that this Princess avenged herself in a terrible manner. At a time when Momonoff and his wife were in bed, the chief of the police of Moscow entered their apartment, and after having shewn them an order from the Empress, left them in the hands of six women, and withdrew himself into a neighbouring room. Upon this the six women, or rather the six men dressed in womens cloaths, seized the babbling offender, and having stripped her entirely naked, whipt her with rods in presence of Momonoff, whom they had obliged to remain on his knees. When this chastisement had been inflicted, the chief of the police re-entered and said:—"This is the mode in which the Empress punishes a first indiscretion: for the second the delinquent is banished to Siberia."

The very day of Momonoff's marriage, the place of favourite was bestowed on Plato Zouboff, an officer of the horse-guards. Potemkin heard, with no little vexation, that the choice of Catharine had fallen upon Zouboff. He wrote to her on the subject, and made use of all his efforts to prevail on her to change her lover. But from the first days of his elevation Zouboff had so well understood how to please, that he no longer feared a rival. The Empress sent word to Potemkin, that as he had no just reason to complain of Zouboff, he could not resolve to give him his dismissal. Notwithstanding this, Potemkin still insisted for some time longer. "When thou seest the "Empress," said he to one of the courtiers who carried his dispatches to court, "remark to her that "I have teeth from which I suffer considerable uneasiness, and that I shall not be quiet till I get rid "of them." This was a silly play on words: the name Zouboff signifies teeth, in the Russian language.

The death of the Emperor Joseph II. had left Catharine reduced to her own forces to combat the Ottomans. Leopold II. yielding to the solicitations of Prussia, and still more to the necessities of his people, reduced to distress by an unjust and unfortunate war, was in haste to separate himself from Russia, and, after the convention of Reichenbach, had concluded a separate peace with the Porte.

It was no longer Frederick II. who reigned over Prussia: five years before he had terminated his long and brilliant career. Endowed with a decided character and a flexible mind, he brought both the one and the other to perfection by study and reflection. The lessons of history had rendered him a profound politician and a skilful general: the company of philosophers and of enlightened men taught him to place himself in the rank of distinguished writers. Whilst he was only Prince Royal, he appeared to be ambitious solely of the glory of an Antoninus and a Marcus Aurelius; but scarcely had he ascended the throne
when

when he took for his models the Alexanders and the Philips. Delivered victoriously from the seven years war, a war which seemed likely to consummate his ruin, he extended the bounds of his states, and formed of the secondary power which he had inherited, one of the most domineering powers of Europe. To the titles of politician and conqueror, he had then the ability to add that of legislator. The code which bears his name, entitles him, on several accounts, to the gratitude of his subjects. Disdaining luxury from inclination, and dreading it from economy, he displayed his pomp in the number of his soldiers. Laborious, vigilant, indefatigable, he occupied himself, to the very last moment of his life, in the administration of his kingdom: but he manifested himself at the same time more zealous for the establishment of his power, and the prosperity of Prussia, than for the happiness of the Prussians. Did he himself lead a happy life? We may venture to say no, since he was neither a husband, a lover, nor a father, and as he allowed himself frequently to be led away by two cruel passions, ambition and avarice. He desired the furname of Great: he obtained it from the age in which he lived, and without doubt posterity will confirm him in it.

But although Frederick II. had ceased to live, the same spirit still directed the cabinet of Berlin. Some time before Leopold made peace with the Turks, Frederick-William had, as has been already seen, resolved to make a diversion in their favour. Thus Catharine lost a defender, and found herself in danger of having shortly a new enemy to engage. That enemy did not draw the sword against her, but did not the less provoke her. He took advantage of the discontent of the Poles to acquire great influence among them. He leagued himself with them by a new treaty. Under pretence of defending them, he marched his armies upon their territory, and what perhaps the

court of Russia felt more sensibly, he took possession of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn.

The Empress then perceived that her victories were ruinous, and that conquests in foreign countries might lose to her the provinces which she possessed in Poland. She felt, in fine, the necessity of making peace. But she had too much pride to sue for it; she rather chose to continue to fight.

Her armies still obtained success. Koutoufsoff beat the united armies of the Turks and Tartars at Babada. Repnin, at the head of 40,000 men, put to flight more than 100,000 Ottomans whom he fell in with near Matzin, and who were commanded by the same Grand-vizir Yousouff, celebrated by the victories obtained over the Austrians in the Bannat. Goudowitz, brother of the ancient favourite of Peter III. made himself master of the fortresses of Soudjouk-Kalé, and of Anapa, upon the frontiers of the Crimea and of the Kuban, and took there 14,000 prisoners, among the number of which was the Beymansour, that pretended prophet whom I have already mentioned.

England, who to avenge herself for the alliance of France and of Russia, had incited the Turks to declare war with the latter power, and had lavished on them in vain the assistance of her arms, provisions, and counsels, England wished to take advantage of the moment when the court of Peterburgh detached itself from the French to persuade it to form an alliance with her.

England had, besides, very pressing reasons to determine her to adopt this measure: she was all at once informed of a project which conveyed terror into the soul of her ministers. This project, one of the boldest which the genius of Catharine ever conceived, was to march an army which should traverse the country of the Uzbeks and the kingdom of Cachemire, to support the throne of the Mogul, and drive the English

lish from Bengal: Some Frenchmen, who had travelled in those countries, were to have served as guides to the Russian army.

A blow so terrible, struck in India, would very soon have caused itself to be felt in Europe, and without doubt would have changed the destinies of these two quarters of the globe. What do I say? The whole world would have experienced its effects. The English, whose ambition nature seems to have wished to set bounds to, by enclosing them in narrow islands, but to whom the genius of commerce, more powerful than nature, gives so great an influence over the whole extent of the globe, the English would not at this day have held the Russian legions in their pay, as these very legions would have carried off from them the principal source of the treasures with which they pay them.

Fortunately for England, the project formed against her was discovered by one of the agents whom she maintained in Russia; and in order to prevent the dangers which threatened her, she resolved to neglect nothing which might regain the good-will of Catharine and of Potemkin.

After having communicated her design to the cabinets of Berlin and the Hague, who had acted in concert with her from the commencement of the war, she hastened to propose her mediation to the Empress. The court of London therefore sent to Petersburg Fawkener, secretary of the privy council, and gave him charge of two propositions, of which the one most favourable to Russia was not to be brought forward, but in the event of the other not being accepted. Fawkener was not deficient in sagacity, but he had still a less share of it than Catharine. Whether it was that this Princess had been secretly apprized by her emissaries that the English agent had the power of making her a double proposition; or whether she had divined it, she resolved to turn it to her

her advantage. Very well pleased to conclude a peace with the Turks, at whatever price, that she might be allowed to reinforce her armies in Poland, she received Fawkener with extreme affability: she admitted him to her table at Tzariko-Zelo, placed him opposite to her, conversed with him during the whole repast, still continued to chat with him after dinner, had the address by turns artfully to make him apprehend the miscarriage of his negotiation, and to give him the hopes of success, and so completely entangled him at last, that he had not the courage to propose any but the most advantageous conditions.

Informed of the dispositions of England, the Empress caused a memorial to be transmitted to the Danish minister, engaging him to negotiate the preliminaries of the peace with the cabinets of Berlin, of London, and the Hague.

Bernstorff was well worthy of finding so important a cause confided to his mediation. He hastened to make known to the three allied courts the intentions of Catharine. The agreement amongst these powers and Russia was terminated very shortly after.

By this compact, the three allied courts came to a resolution to propose to the Porte the conditions of the Empress, and declared, that if the Turks did not accept these conditions, they would abandon their cause, and leave them to continue alone the war against Russia.

A. D. 1792. A congress assembled at first at Szistowe was very soon dissolved. The negotiators, who had not been able to come to an agreement at Szistowe, repaired to Galatza, and the preliminaries of the peace were at last signed by Prince Repnin and the Grand-vizir Yousouff. The definitive treaty, concluded at Yassy, followed immediately. The principal articles of the treaty were these.

Art. I. That a sincere friendship should for the future exist between the two empires.

II. That

II. That the stipulations of the treaties which had preceded the last rupture should re-assume all their force.

III. That the Dnieper should in future serve as the boundary of the two empires, and that all the territory situated on the right bank of that river should be restored to the Porte.

IV. That the ancient rights and privileges of the principal cities of Moldavia and Wallachia should be confirmed; that the inhabitants of these cities should remain for two years exempt from all tribute; and that those who might choose to sell their property and retire elsewhere, should be allowed to do it without opposition.

V. That the Porte should for the future guarantee the tranquillity of the kingdom of Georgia and of the adjacent countries.

VI. That the Porte should use every endeavour to do the same with respect to the Caucasus.

VII. That it should undertake to procure a cessation of the piracies of the barbaresque corsairs, and to indemnify the subjects of Russia for the losses which they should suffer from the non-execution of the three preceding articles.

VIII. That liberty should be restored to the Russians, Greeks, Moldavians, Polonese and Tartars who had been taken prisoners.

In the war to which this treaty put an end, Austria lost 130,000 soldiers, and expended 3,000,000 of florins; Russia lost 200,000 men, five ships of the line, seven frigates and twenty-four smaller ships, and expended 200,000,000 of roubles; the Turks lost 330,000 men, six ships of the line, four frigates and several other vessels, and expended 250,000,000 of piastres; Sweden spent 70,000,000 of rix-dollars, and lost twelve ships of the line, three frigates, and forty small sloops of war.

After the signature of the treaty, Bezborodko declared

declared, that the Empress declined receiving the 12,000,000 of piastres which the Porte had just engaged to pay, to indemnify her for the expenses of the war. The Ottoman plenipotentiaries manifested the just admiration with which this generosity was calculated to inspire them.

Potemkin had not the satisfaction of concluding the peace of Russia with the Porte. He had repaired to the congress of Yassi, but was very soon attacked with the epidemic fever which raged there; he was able to occupy himself but very little with the negotiations. He had with him two of the best physicians of Petersburg; he disdained their counsels, and would not follow any regimen. Intemperate to excess, he ate at breakfast a whole goose, a sirloin of beef or a ham, drank a prodigious quantity of wine and of Dantzic waters, and dined afterwards with the same voracity.

Perceiving that his malady gained ground, he thought he would cure himself by quitting Yassi, and resolved to repair to Nicolaëff, a city which he had founded at the confluence of the Ingoul and the Bog. He took his departure. Scarcely had he proceeded three leagues when he found himself worse. He alighted from the carriage, in the middle of the great road, and died under a tree, in the arms of the Princess Gallitzin, one of his favourite nieces.

It was at first given out that Potemkin had been poisoned. His body was conveyed back to Yassi: it was opened, but not the slightest indication was found that could justify that suspicion.

As soon as the colossus was overthrown, the greatest part of those who before had scarcely dared to raise their eyes to him, examined him with a severe inspection, and were humiliated and surprised at the respect which he had imposed on them. They could not conceive how a man, whose only quality was audacity, whose only talent was intrigue, and who

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was a compound of every vice and of every failing, had so long domineered over both the Empress and the empire.

Elevated from the lowest order of the horse-guards to the brilliant post of favourite, and to the highest functions in the ministry and in the army, Potemkin several times saw the heart of Catharine change, without ever losing the ascendant which he had over her mind. His honours, his credit, his fortune augmented incessantly. Almost all the great potentates of Europe overwhelmed him with their favours, and were candidates for his interest, without by that means exciting the least gratitude in him. He decorated himself with the ribbon of their orders, and received their presents as a lawful tribute. In his projects of war or of peace, he allowed himself to be directed only by his private ambition.

But his ambition was inconstant and capricious. For some time he had a desire to be Duke of Courland, and King of Poland. Shortly after, he found these sovereignties under too much subordination, and he preferred to them the hope of driving the Ottomans out of Europe, to found a new empire on the ruins of their states, and to govern there in the name of Catharine, or probably to render himself master of it.

From the first moment of his coming into favour, he accustomed himself to exercise a despotic sway over all who surrounded him. Drest in a simple night-gown, with his legs naked, and stretched upon a sofa, he received the courtiers and the foreign ministers who visited him, without deigning to offer them a seat. He more than once allowed himself to raise an insolent hand on those grandees who did not choose to cringe before him.

Magnificent and prodigal from excess of pride, he refused to pay to the unfortunate the most just debts; and glutted with treasure, he committed pitiful frauds,
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and descended to the grossest meannesses to extort trifling sums of money.

The Empress, who was acquainted with all his vices, feigned ignorance of them. Victim of a first confidence, she yielded to it afterwards from habit, and for a long time apprehended that it might be dangerous for her to renounce it. After having employed Potemkin to dispute the pretensions of Orloff, she imagined that she had equal occasion for him to repress the suspected ambition of the Grand-duke. Such were the real causes of this great ascendant, which still excites wonder; but this ascendant lasted no longer after the moment that Potemkin ceased to breathe.

BOOK XII.

View of the Court of Petersburg at Potemkin's Death—Insurrection of Kosciuszko—Final Partition of Poland—Assassination of Gustavus III.—Death of Leopold II.—French Emigrants in Russia—Of Plato Zouboff and his Family—Treaty with England—D'Armfeldt's Conspiracy—Journey of Gustavus-Adolphus II. to Petersburg—Conquests in Persia—Death of Catharine II.—Statement of the Presents she bestowed on her Favourites.

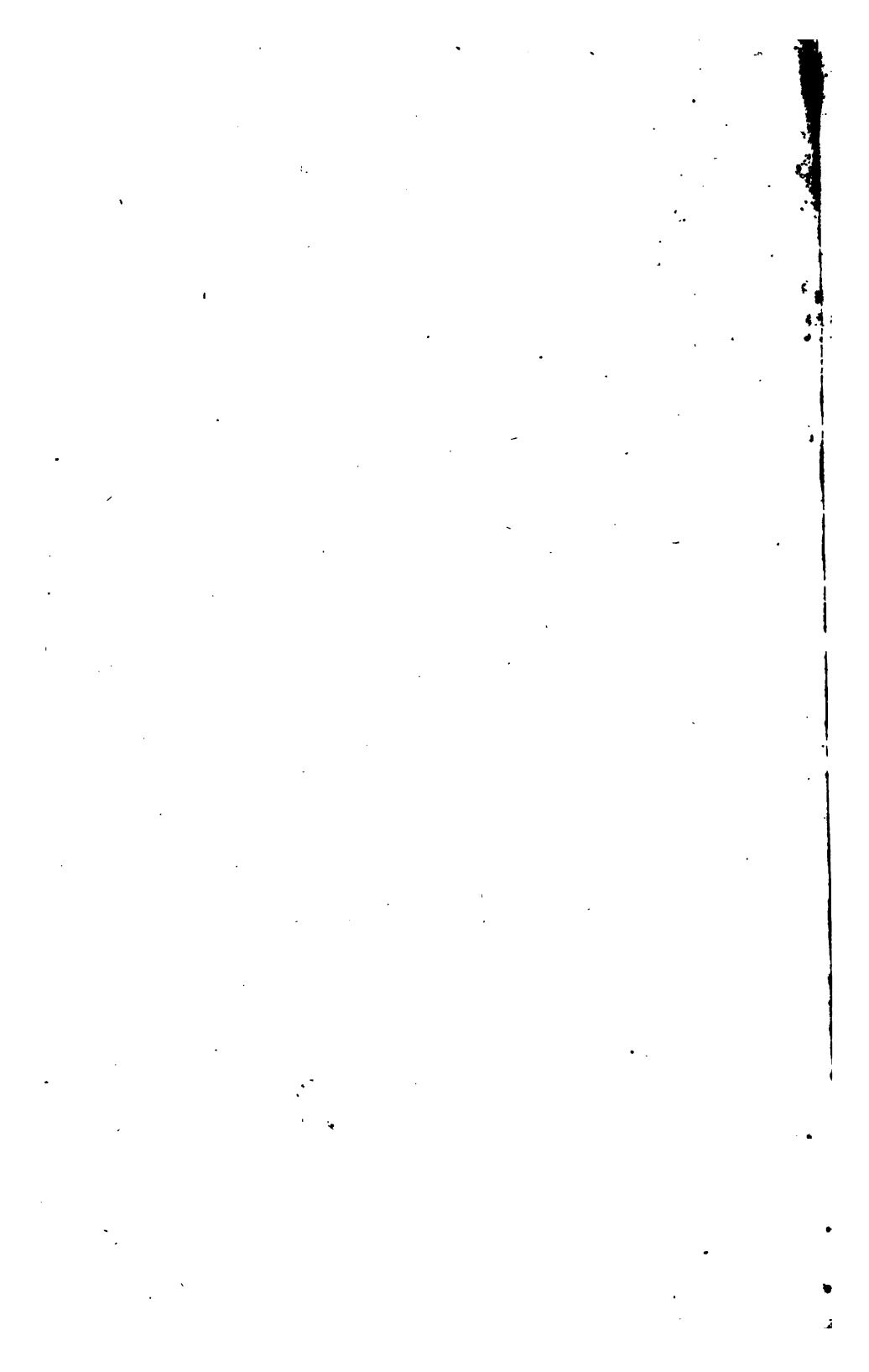
A. D. 1792. **A**S soon as the Empress beheld Lanskoï expire, she shut herself up in her apartment, and, abandoning herself to grief, seemed to have taken the resolution of starving herself to death. On being informed that Potemkin had breathed his last, she likewise shut herself up, but it was to give attention to the administration of the empire. She laboured for fifteen hours without intermission, and divided among her



CATHERINE II ALEXIEWNA

Empress of Russia, at the Age of 64 Years.

Published Feb.^r 1800, by I. Storchdale, Piccadilly.



her ministers the direction of the affairs which Potemkin had managed.

Bezborodko was sent to the congress of Yassi, and concluded the peace, as has been mentioned in the preceding book; and, on his return, finding himself at the head of the college for foreign affairs, enjoyed at first very high credit.

The favourite Plato Zouboff, who had, hitherto been a stranger to business, took it into his head to intermeddle, and to assume the direction. He resorted to the counsels of the intriguing Markoff, who soon became his sycophant, and eagerly undertook to guide him in the political career. Markoff had his reward in the entire confidence of the favourite, and in that of the Sovereign. They formed an under-hand privy-council, in which affairs of the highest importance were discussed, and from which Bezborodko was carefully excluded, who, without being actually disgraced, almost entirely lost his influence.

It was in one of those select councils, composed of Zouboff, Markoff, the war-minister Nicolai Soltikoff, and a few others, that the annihilation of Poland, which Catharine had long in view, was finally decided. That Princess resolved on it at once to gratify her pride and her vengeance. Her favourite and her rapacious ministers seconded her views, in the hope of obtaining a share in the rich spoils of the wretched Poles.

The Empress never could forgive that nation the acts of the diet of 1788, nor the alliance with Prussia, accepted in contempt of her's, nor, above all, the constitution of 1791. Replete with ideas of revenge, she ordered Bulgakoff, her minister at Warsaw, solemnly to declare war against Poland.

The diet assembled, heard this declaration with a majestic composure, to which rapidly succeeded the noble enthusiasm that the ardor of self-defence inspires. The whole nation adopted the feelings of the diet. The king himself was carried down the stream,

or rather pretended to be so; and the Polonese had the weakness to believe that, renouncing his ancient slavish submission to Russia, and awakening out of his habitual indolence, he was going to become the defender of liberty. An army was hastily levied, and the command conferred on Prince Joseph Poniatowsky, whom inexperience and frivolous habits very much disqualified for undertaking such a burden.

The Polonese could oppose 150,000 men to the designs of Catharine; but they never had the skill of bringing them to act in concert, and their separate corps soon felt themselves pressed between an army of 80,000 Russians, who re-entered Bessarabia on the territory which extends along the Bog; another of 10,000 assembled in the vicinity of Kioeff, and a third of 30,000, which penetrated into Lithuania.

I shall not here detail the different combats which deluged with blood the plains of Poland, and which, notwithstanding some advantages obtained by the Polonese, destroyed the greatest part of their forces. It was on this occasion that Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who was then only lieutenant under the young Joseph Poniatowsky, displayed the talents which procured him the confidence of his own country, the resentment of Russia, and the esteem of all the rest of Europe.

Catharine, meanwhile, not confiding entirely to the force of her arms, had never lost sight of negotiation. She had the definitive partition of Poland proposed to Frederick-William, who undoubtedly desired it no less eagerly than she did. She secretly gained over the two brothers Kassakowsky, the hetman Branitzky, Rzewusky, and, what was of more consequence than all, Felix Potocky, who flattered himself, perhaps, with the hope of mounting the throne of Poland, and became only the slave of Russia. She, finally, insisted that Stanislaus-Augustus should publicly declare that it was necessary to submit to the ascendant of the Russian arms. That monarch

narch had the pitiful courage to swallow this indignity: but the Empress did not requite it by the slightest farther indulgence.

A. D. 1793. The confederation of the partisans of Russia assembled at Grodno, and had the humiliation of beholding the Russian general proudly seat himself under the canopy of that throne which he was just going to subvert. The Russian minister Sievers, at the same time, published a manifesto, to declare that his sovereign incorporated with her dominions all the Polish territory which her arms had invaded.

The King of Prussia, in connivance with Catharine, had already marched an army into Poland.

The Russians, spread over the provinces of that kingdom, displayed a spirit of rapine of which history furnishes but few examples. Warsaw likewise became the theatre of their excesses. The Russian general Igoultrom, a man destitute of talent, but of the most shocking brutality, and an avarice the most insatiable, domineered in that city. He gave full scope to the licentiousness of the Russian soldiery, and made the wretched inhabitants feel the complete weight of his arrogance and barbarity. The defenders of Poland had been under the necessity of dispersing: their property was confiscated, their families reduced to servitude. Such an accumulation of woe again inspired a resolution to deliver their country from Russian oppression. Some of them ventured to assemble, and invited Kosciuszko to come and take the command.

That general had retired to Leipzig with Hugo Kolontay, Zajonezek and Inigo Potocky, a very enlightened man, the friend of his country, and in every respect the opposite of Felix. These four Poles did not hesitate whether or not they should approve the resolution of their worthy compatriots: but they were sensible, that in order to success, the peasantry

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must be restored to liberty, who had hitherto been treated in Poland merely as beasts of burden.

Kosciuszko and Zajoneczek instantly repaired to the frontiers of Poland. The last ventured as far as Warsaw, and had frequent conferences with the principal conspirators. A banker, named Kapustas, a very shrewd and resolute man, became responsible to him for the inhabitants of the capital. He had interviews likewise with several officers, who detested the Russian yoke. Every thing, in short, was ripe for insurrection, when the Russian commanders, to whom the presence of Kosciuszko on the frontiers had given umbrage, obliged him to defer the moment of action.

To elude the jealousy of the Russians, Kosciuszko withdrew into Italy, and Zajoneczek repaired to Dresden, whither Inigo Potocky and Kolontay had retired; but Zajoneczek suddenly re-appeared at Warsaw. The King himself denounced him to the Russian general Igœlstrom, who had a conference with him, and ordered him to quit the Polish territories. It became necessary to enter upon action or to renounce the enterprize entirely. Zajoneczek resolved on the former.

A. D. 1794. Kosciuszko was recalled from Italy and arrived at Cracow, where the Poles received him as their deliverer. In defiance of the orders of the Russians, Colonel Madalinsky refused to disband his regiment. Several other officers had joined him. Kosciuszko was proclaimed general of this little army, and the declaration of revolt was almost immediately proclaimed. Three hundred peasants, armed with scythes, joined the standard of Kosciuszko. That general soon found himself opposed to 7000 Russians, who were put to flight after a vigorous resistance.

On being informed at Warsaw of Kosciuszko's success, the Russian general Igœlstrom put under arrest all those whom he believed partisans of the insurrection; but these measures only served to irritate the conspirators

conspirators more and more. The revolt made a violent explosion. Two thousand Russians were massacred. Igélsstrom, besieged in his own house, offered to capitulate, and availing himself of the delay granted him, escaped to the Prussian camp, which was at no great distance from Warsaw.

Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, followed the example of Warsaw; but the triumph of the insurgents was there less terrible. Colonel Jazinsky, who was at their head, conducted himself with so much ability, that he got hold of all the Russians, without spilling a single drop of blood. The inhabitants of the cantons of Chelm and Lublin likewise declared themselves in a state of insurrection, and were followed by three Polish regiments employed in the service of Russia.

Some of the principal partisans of Russia, the hetman Kassakowsky, the bishop his brother, Zabiello, Ozarowsky and Anckwicz, were tried and hanged, the first at Wilna, the others at Warsaw.

Kosciuszkó strained every nerve to increase his army. He enlisted the peasants; and, in order to inspire them with the greater emulation, assumed their dress, partook of their fare, and lavished on them every species of encouragement; but those men, too long degraded in Poland, were not yet worthy of the liberty which was tendered them. They entertained suspicions of the intention of the nobles, who, on their part, at least many of them, reflected with regret on their absurd privileges.

Stanislaus-Augustus and his partisans farther inflamed the jealousy of the nobles, by representing Kosciuszkó's views as disastrous to them, and by incessant cabals in favour of Russia.

The Empress, meanwhile not satisfied with increasing the number of her troops in Poland, had sent thither some of her best generals. After several engagements, in one of which Frederick-William, who had advanced to support the Russians, fought

at the head of his troops, Kosciuszko, who wished to prevent the junction of the Russian generals Souwaroff and Fersen, found himself at once attacked by this last at Maciejowice, and abandoned by General Poninsky, who ought to have come to join him. The talents, the valour, the despair of Kosciuszko, could not prevent the Polonese from sinking under numbers. The greatest part of his army perished on the field of battle, or laid down their arms. He himself, covered with wounds, fell down senseless, and was taken prisoner.

All who could escape the sword of the conqueror fled and shut themselves up in the suburbs of Prague, adjoining Warsaw, and were pursued thither by General Souwaroff. The siege of Prague could be of no long duration. The very day after his arrival, the ardent Souwaroff gave orders for the assault, and having stormed the suburb, put to the sword not the soldiers only, but all the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age. Twenty thousand innocents fell victims to the fury of the Russian commander. Stained with the blood of those unfortunate wretches, the barbarian entered at the head of his army into Warsaw. Some corps of insurgents, scattered over the provinces, hastened to surrender. The courts of Petersburg and Berlin parcelled out at pleasure the remainder of ill-fated Poland; and the merciless courtiers of Catharine distributed among themselves the effects of multitudes of the proscribed. Stanislaus-Augustus, relegated to Grodno, was condemned to live in obscurity on a pension granted him by the Empress, while Repnin, appointed governor of the invaded provinces, there displayed the magnificence of a sovereign Prince.

Zajoneczek and Kolontai, who had made their escape into the Austrian territories, had the mortification of finding the rights of hospitality violated in their persons: they were detained prisoners. Kosciuszko, Inigo Potocki, Kapustas and some others,
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were transported to Petersburg and immured in dungeons. Among those unfortunate beings was the young poet Niemcewicz, distinguished by his valour and by his talents, the friend of Kosciuszko, wounded and taken prisoner by his side. The blood which he had shed in the cause of his country was not the only offence against Catharine which Niemcewicz had to expiate. He had composed on her some verses replete with sarcastic ease and energy. She had him at first shut up in the fortress of Petersburg, and afterwards sent him to Schlussemburgh, where he underwent the most barbarous treatment.

All who had rendered themselves criminal in the eyes of Catharine did not meet with the same severity: she knew how to be sparing of chastisement which might produce consequences dangerous to her. What do I say? She sometimes carried her dissimulation so far as publicly to reward those whom in secret she had an itching to punish, with a resolution, undoubtedly, to glut her vengeance whenever she could find opportunity of doing it with safety. When, after the signature of the preliminaries of peace at Galatza, Prince Repnin, thinking he had reason to complain of the Empress and of Potemkin, retired to Moscow, all the malecontents who inhabited that capital acknowledged him for their chief, and the leaders rallied around him.

Repnin had embraced the errors of a sect of *illuminati* who, under the name of Martinists, for some time past infested the northern parts of Germany. He formed a club, to which he gave the title of those fanatics, and admitted those only into it whom he well knew to be partakers of his indignation against the court of Petersburg. It is alleged that the object of those malecontents was to operate a reform in the state, and to oblige Catharine to surrender the crown to her son. Be this as it may, that Princess was soon informed by her emissaries, that extravagant reveries were not the sole employment of the Mar-

tinists of Moscow. Several of them were suddenly arrested, stript of their offices, as well as of the insignia of their dignities, and sent into exile, some to Siberia, some to their own estates. At the same time, all their papers were burnt, as an attempt to annihilate the very slightest traces of a conspiracy.

Repnin being ordered to court, believed himself undone: but the Empress, to whom he was an object of detestation, received him with a smiling countenance, overwhelmed him with praises, and appointed him governor of Livonia, from whence, after the final partition of Poland, he was promoted to the government-general of Lithuania. It was at this period that Repnin went to reside at Grodno, whither the feeble and unfortunate Stanislaus-Augustus had already repaired.

The exhibition of the ensanguined revolution which the gallant Kosciuszko attempted, laid me under the necessity of postponing the detail of various events: they shall be inserted in this place.

Impatient to see Gustavus III. engage in his romantic and perilous enterprize, Catharine gave orders to the Count de Stackelberg, her minister at Stockholm, to promise that Prince 12,000 Russian soldiers, and an annual subsidy of 300,000 roubles, to assist him in restoring the King of France to the exercise of his authority. Assuredly the Empress had no intention to fulfil that promise, which it was always in her power to elude. Her only intention was to accelerate the moment of the confederation of Kings, and to excite her rivals to destroy each other.

But Gustavus was not permitted time to go and consummate the ruin of his country on the frontiers of France. A great majority of the Swedish nobles were always dissatisfied with the revolution of 1772. They gave a proof of this when they refused to fight at Frideriksham. In pardoning their disobedience, Gustavus only emboldened them, and served the views of the Russians, who were incessantly instigating them
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against him. Three young persons, on this, resolved to put him to death, and cast lots for the infamous honour of giving him the first blow. A masked ball, at which Gustavus was to be present, favoured their horrible design. The three conspirators concurred in it. Ankerstrom, taking advantage of the instant when the croud was gathered round Gustavus, shot him in the reins with a pistol. The Swedish monarch expired a few days afterward. His son, Gustavus-Adolphus, a youth of fourteen, succeeded him, and the regency was given to the Duke of Sudermania.

A few days before, the Emperor Leopold II. had died at Vienna, in a manner less violent, but rather sudden, and left the Imperial crown, the Arch-dutchy of Austria, and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, to his son Francis II.

The death of the two chiefs of the league of kings against France, dreadfully depressed the French emigrants, who flocked in great numbers to Petersburg, to solicit a supply of troops, which the Empress did not hesitate to promise, without the slightest intention of granting.

That Princess, nevertheless, took a deep interest in the revolution of France. She was apprehensive that the principles of it might penetrate into Russia, and produce a concussion which might subvert her throne. All the French who declared attachment to their ancient government, were welcomed by her, and the others cruelly proscribed. The minister of France, Segur, quitted Petersburg; but while she blamed the opinions of that minister, Catharine could not refrain from doing justice to his virtues, to his talents, and to the elegance of his manners; she said to him when he took leave:—"I am an aristocrate, for I must follow my profession." Shortly after she recalled Simolin, her minister at Paris. She prohibited the *chargé d'affaires* of France to approach her court, and forbid her ministers to hold any intercourse with

him. Her resentment against the French, and all those who applauded their revolution, threatened to become fatal even to Colonel Laharpe, who was entrusted with the education of the two young Princes Alexander and Constantine, and who, in the united characters of Helvetian and philosopher, carried the love of liberty in his bosom. The patricians of Switzerland had proscribed him, and, seconded by the French emigrants and the agents of the coalition, they made various efforts to ruin him, by rendering him suspected to Catharine. But, whether from policy, whether from pride, though hurt at the sentiments of a man who had long acquired a title to her consideration, and who had frequently dared to defend his principles in her presence and against herself, that Princess refused to sacrifice him.

It will perhaps be acceptable to know who were the emigrants of highest distinction at the court of Russia.

The first was Esterhazy, emissary of the French Princes, and invested with the title of their ambassador. A haughty and mean courtier, of a harsh spirit and a very disagreeable figure, Esterhazy had contrived to make rudeness pass for a noble austerity. The champion of unlimited monarchy, and of every thing which he called the government of Charlemagne, he had the address, by an ostentatious display of his principles, and by contemptible flattery, to render himself dear to Catharine and to the favourite Zouboff, whose most assiduous adulator he was. Always affecting extreme poverty, he obtained successively from the Empress a considerable pension, a palace, and presents of every kind. He instructed his son in the art of begging, and made him appear in a shabby dress, in order to excite the commiseration of the Sovereign. Esterhazy, besides, injured, as far as it was in his power, Choiseul-Gouffier, Bombelles, and the other emigrants. He neglected the
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Grand-duke in the most insulting manner, and was rewarded for it by Zouboff, who soon procured him admission into the secret political junto.

Bombelles made himself conspicuous only by an ephemeral stateliness. His pretension and his insignificance had a proper value set upon them.

Saint-Priest succeeded better. The Empress expressed for him much benevolence and respect. But the desire of appearing grateful was perhaps her only motive for acting in this manner. Be how it may, she said one day, after a long conversation with Saint-Priest :—"I could pass my life with such ministers." She passed only one winter in this manner. Saint-Priest quitted Petersburg and repaired to Stockholm. Catharine had entrusted him with a secret commission, and has not ceased to employ him in her political arrangements.

With no less understanding than Saint-Priest, Choiseul Gouffier did not inspire the same confidence. His exterior, his style of conversation, announced only a courtier who had great pretensions to finesse. Besides, the Empress was prejudiced against him, because, instead of rendering her all the service with the divan which she expected, he had induced the Turks to furnish subsidies to Sweden, to enable that power to attack Russia. On his first arrival at Petersburg, the Empress amused herself sometimes with embarrassing him by insidious questions on the subject of that negotiation : but he patiently supported her displeasure, and at length insensibly acquired some degree of credit both with Catharine herself and with Zouboff.

Calonne too repaired to Petersburg. He undertook this journey under pretence of proposing to the Empress the purchase of a valuable collection of pictures he had to dispose of, and made an attempt to negotiate for the French Princes and for the coalition of Kings. But some other emigrants, and particularly Esterhazy, took advantage of their influence to prevent

prevent his being listened to. Besides, his conduct was by no means calculated to procure success in a court where etiquette was so rigorously observed. Being invited to dine with the ministers, he made the company wait for him long beyond the hour, arrived some time after they had sat down to table, and excused himself by saying, that he thought the fashion there was that of England. He persisted to trifle in the same manner when the Empress invited him to Tzarsko-Zelo, which highly offended her.

His presumption, and neglect of established usages, exposed Calonne to an affront which he must have very sensibly felt. Having been admitted into the company of the Empress at Tzarsko-Zelo, he imagined that he might present himself when he pleased at Petersburg. He resorted to the Imperial palace, and followed into the apartments some emigrants who had letters of admission. But as the yeomen of the guard were furnished with a list of the persons whom the Empress had distinguished by that mark of favour, Calonne's forwardness was immediately remarked: nay, it is believed that his own compatriots were the first to point it out to the Empress. Be that as it may, orders were given to let Calonne know that he failed in point of etiquette. On this, two of the yeomen came up to him in the inner apartments and desired him to walk out. As they spoke in the Russian tongue, and he did not understand their meaning, he stepped back, and thought of overawing them by assuming a stately air. But the two yeomen took him rudely enough by the arm, and fairly turned him out of doors. It was on Sunday; the court was brilliant and crowded; and the mortification was so much the more severe, that the scene passed in the presence of many witnesses. Calonne complained loudly of this treatment: the Empress was soon informed of it. Wishing to efface from his mind the impression it had made, she sent him an invitation, and from that moment he had his letter of admission.

admission. He nevertheless afterward took care to behave with more circumspection. The spirit of levity and the audacious vanity which had formerly gained Calonne many partisans in France, could not procure him the same advantages at the court of Peterburgh. Little beloved, and still less esteemed, he was distinguished there by hardly any other name than that of the *thief*.

In speaking of the French emigrants who made their appearance at the court of Catharine, I ought perhaps to have begun with the Count d'Artois. The Empress thought herself obliged to receive him in a style of magnificence; but she sometimes exhibited plain indications that she longed for his departure. The Count d'Artois' residence at Peterburgh excited frequent murmurings among the Russians, on account of the expense it occasioned, and it was still more fatal to Frenchmen settled in Russia. They were forced to take the oath of fidelity to the pretender to the crown of France, and to swear implacable hatred to the French republic. Those who refused, could obtain a delay of no more than three weeks for the arrangement of their affairs, and were afterwards rigorously compelled to quit the Russian territories, where most of them left debts, which must of course have been considered as so much lost.

The Count d'Artois had in his retinue Roger Damas, d'Escars, the Swiss colonel de Roll, and the bishop of Arras. This last was the Prince's chief counsellor. He never spoke of public affairs but with a haughtiness and impetuosity which rendered his ecclesiastic garb but the more remarkable. The Russian courtiers themselves were shocked at it, and congratulated the French on their deliverance from that man whom they denominated the *travelling governor*.

About this time the news of Dumourier's defection reached Russia. The emigrants flattered themselves that this general would presently reconquer France,
and

the Count d'Artois made no secret of it in talking to the deputation of French merchants who had been constrained to wait on him.

An emigrant of a rank less elevated, but of an easy wit, and having still more pretension than talents, likewise lived some time at Petersburg. This was Senac of Meilhan, the ancient intendant of Valenciennes, and known by some imitations of the works of the academician Duclos.

When the posthumous works of Frederick II. appeared, the Empress envied that Prince the glory of having immortalized himself by his writings, as well as by his actions. She wished that a work, decorated with her name, should dictate to posterity the admiration which she flattered herself with the hope of having inspired. She had long been collecting memoirs respecting the principal events of her reign; and not having sufficient reliance on her own talent for writing, thought of having them secretly digested by a pen more practised than her own. The miserable success of the Antidote had demonstrated to her that it is not very easy to compose in French a book worthy of being read. She desired Grimm, therefore, to find her a man capable of fulfilling her intentions: Grimm sent Senac of Meilhan.

Before she employed this writer, Catharine thought proper to study his genius and character. She received him with great benevolence, and conversed with him several times. But instead of appearing as modest, and as much devoted to the Empress as she expected, Senac discovered a lofty ambition, and even let it appear that he entertained hopes of being sent minister from Russia to Constantinople. Catharine resented this indiscretion: she did not trust Senac with her memoirs, and hastened to dismiss him, after securing him a pension of 1500 roubles.

The court of Petersburg had been for some time divided into two parties. At the head of the one were old Ostermann; the Woronzoffs and Bezborodko, who

who endeavoured to shelter themselves under the name of the Grand-duke, but which that Prince had always the prudence to disavow, and of whose intrigues he was ignorant, or at least pretended to be so. The other party was that of Zouboff, Markoff, and Nicolai-Ivanowitz-Soltikoff, an avaricious and crafty courtier, who, though governor to the Grand-duke's children, had servilely devoted himself to the favourite.

This favourite was farther supported by his own father, his three brothers and his sister, all of them overwhelmed with the Sovereign's benefits. It is necessary to make the reader acquainted with this family.

The father of the favourite Zouboff had been vice-governor of a province, and entrusted in that capacity with the administration of the finances, of the magazines and of the manufactures depending on the department. These establishments were consumed by fire, and it was suspected that he himself had occasioned the conflagration, as a dispensation from making up his accounts. Whether it were so or not, that fire amounted to a revenue of 60,000 roubles in favour of the vice-governor. After the elevation of his son, Zouboff obtained the important office of procurator-general of the senate, and made a scandalous traffic of justice. He bought up suits of law, be what they might, and had them decided according to his fancy. His son himself was so much ashamed of it, that he resolved to remove him, and got him appointed senator in the district of Moscow, where he died and left an immense fortune.

Nicolai Zouboff, the eldest son of that extortioner, was an estimable man. He served in Poland, distinguished himself there by his valour, and married the daughter of Field-marshal Souwaroff.

Valerian Zouboff, brigadier-major of the guards, likewise served in the wars of Poland, where he had a leg carried away by a cannon-shot. Audacious libertine,

bertine, he for some time partook, with his brother Plato, of the secret favours of the Sovereign, and since commanded the army which marched against the Persians.

Alexander Zouboff, chamberlain to the Empress, a man destitute of talents, but ambitious, was son-in-law of the opulent Prince Wessetkoi, who had engrossed the three places of procurator-general of the senate of Petersburg, of minister of the finances, and minister of the interior.

Finally, Plato Zouboff, lover of Catharine II. decorated with the title of prince, and grand-master of artillery, enjoyed all the credit formerly possessed by Orloff, Lanikoi and Potemkin. Ministers, generals, ambassadors, might be seen dancing attendance at the toilet of this minion, and humbly paying court to him, assured that these acts of degrading complaisance were the only method of purchasing the goodwill of the Empress.

The sister of Zouboff was married to the chamberlain Jerebzoff. This woman, beautiful and much addicted to gallantry, employed part of her revenue in acts of beneficence, and frequently failed to keep an engagement with her lovers, to go and relieve the miserable. She abhorred the court, etiquette, the great world, and would willingly have passed her whole life in dishabille. Sir Charles Whitworth, the British minister, attached himself to her, and had the good fortune, by her credit and that of the favourite, to appease the Empress, whom the last Turkish war had irritated against the court of London.

Old Nikita Dimidoff, well known from his wealth and extravagances, had fallen passionately in love with the favourite's sister, and that lady, who never could find in her heart to be cruel, received very considerable presents from him.

The intimate confidant of Zouboff was a kinsman of his own, named Kazinsky, a frivolous young man, but sprightly, for whom he had procured a chamberlain's

berlain's place, and whose advice he frequently followed.

Zouboff likewise reposed much confidence in a Ragusan, of the name of Altesi. Placed at first in the house of a free merchant of Constantinople, Altesi got acquainted with the Russian minister Bulgakoff, who, setting a value on the pliant and resolute disposition of this young Italian, attached him to his legation and carried him to Warsaw. Altesi got into favour with some Polonese possessed of influence, and obtained a mission to Petersburg, where he caballed, with equal address and ingratitude, against his protector, and succeeded in procuring his recall. He found means at the same time to get into the good graces of Zouboff, who took him for his secretary, and initiated him in the mysteries of his junto.

Altesi drew up the manifesto which paved the way for the last partition of Poland, and it will be presently seen that this was not the only service which he rendered, both to the Empress and to her favourite.

Among the personages whom I have been mentioning, some had very great influence in the cabinet of Petersburg; but they did not always direct affairs as they pleased. The Empress kept an eye over them. Neither her age nor infirmities prevented her from transacting business every day with her ministers, and from deciding matters of the highest importance by her sole authority.

Zouboff, yielding to the importunity of his sister and of Sir Charles Whitworth, persuaded the Empress to conclude a new treaty of commerce with England. That which had expired in 1786, was not till now renewed.

The Empress, at the same time, published two edicts, which forbid the importation of the merchandize of France into her states. This was a double triumph to the English. The new treaty of commerce extended their privileges, and they flattered

tered themselves with the prospect of substituting the stuffs of India and of their own manufacture in place of the beautiful productions of Lyons, and the wines of Madeira and Oporto instead of the wines of France.

They obtained still more. Catharine promised to add in a short time to their fleets a Russian squadron. The order was even given to accelerate the armaments at Cronstadt. Stackelberg urged the court of Stockholm not to maintain the neutrality with France; and Krudener, animated by the same spirit, tormented the court of Copenhagen with his solicitations. But the Swedes and the Danes, who considered the advantages of their commerce only, remained inflexible.

The Grand-signor sent to Petersburg an ambassador, who made magnificent presents to the Empress and her ministers. That Princess dispatched at the same time to Constantinople Koutouzoff, with the title of ambassador extraordinary. Koutouzoff employed prayers and menaces to prevail on the Porte to expel all the French from the Ottoman territory. The attempt was vain. The divan, in indignation at the defection of the English, who had abandoned them in the last war, and enlightened with respect to their real interests by the minister of France Descorches, preserved the respect due to a nation which they regarded as their most faithful and ancient ally.

During this period, the ambassador of Russia at Stockholm, and the Swedish party attached to that power, made incessant cabals to deprive the Duke of Sudermania of the regency, and to have a council named to the young King, entrusted with the government, under the protection of the Empress. They even formed a conspiracy, which was discovered at the instant of explosion. - In order to give a just idea of this, it is necessary to return a little farther back.

In 1782, Gustavus III. made a will, according to which he gave directions, in case of his death, that, conformably-

conformably to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, his son, Gustavus-Adolphus, should not take the reins of government till he had attained the age of one and twenty. During the war which he carried on against Russia, he made a second, which fixed at eighteen years the majority of Gustavus-Adolphus, on account of the unexpected progress which this young Prince had made in his studies. These two wills granted to the Duke of Sudermania the regency, and all the rights of royalty, except that of creating nobles and chevaliers.

When Gustavus had been assassinated by Ankerstrom, and as soon as the physicians had announced his approaching death, this monarch made a third will, which, in leaving the regency to the Duke of Sudermania, obliged him to take into his council the barons d'Armfeld and de Taube. At the moment when the King expired this writing was presented to the Duke, who read it, and threw it into the fire.

Mention was therefore made of the two first wills only, which, deposited in the tribunal of the court, alone bore a legal character, and in compliance with which the Duke of Sudermania was declared regent. This Prince immediately recalled the Baron de Reuterholm, who, after the diet of 1789, had withdrawn into Italy. Without having the smallest title, Reuterholm became the principal counsellor, or rather the prime minister of the regent.

Almost all those who had possessed the confidence of Gustavus III. were devoted to Russia, and were removed. Armfeldt went into Italy, because he was, in spite of himself, named minister plenipotentiary to the court of Naples. But although at a distance from Stockholm, that minister did not the less labour to deprive the Duke of Sudermania of the regency, and even of life. He kept up a constant correspondence with the court of Petersburg, with which the Ragusan Altesti, secretary of Zouboff, was entrusted. He traced the plan of a conspiracy, into which those

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friends

friends whom he had left in Sweden were admitted. He at last believed himself on the eve of success. But his movements were observed; his steps were watched by spies; his papers were carried off, sent into Sweden, and conveyed to the tribunal of the court, which at the same instant caused his accomplices to be arrested and brought to trial.

A. D. 1795. The greater part of the proceedings on this trial were printed, and proved to the Swedish nation that the conspirators acted in concert with Russia, and reckoned upon the assistance of that power.

These circumstances were not calculated to conciliate the two courts. They on the contrary grew every day more irritated against each other; and in a short time, the notes which the Russian ministers presented to Stockholm contained nothing but menaces, and even serious accusations against the regent. The Swedish minister replied to them uniformly with courage, but likewise with decency.

The regent had resolved to marry the young King of Sweden to the Princess of Mecklenburgh. The marriage was even determined upon, and the Princess of Mecklenburgh proclaimed future Queen of Sweden. The Empress manifested much dissatisfaction at this. She pretended that Gustavus III. had promised her the hand of his son, for one of the young Grand-duchesses, and she regarded as an insult the non-fulfilment of that promise. When the Count de Schwerin was commissioned to go and announce at Petersburg the marriage of the King of Sweden, Catharine, informed before-hand of the object of his mission, dispatched a courier to the frontiers of Finland, to forbid Schwerin to make his entrance into Russia.

Shortly afterwards, the Empress appointed as her minister at Stockholm the Baron de Budberg. It seemed that, affecting to disdain the court of Sweden, she had sent that agent there, both on account of his
extreme

extreme youth and his great haughtiness. It was recommended to him to display considerable pride and insolence: undoubtedly he far exceeded his commission.

A. D. 1796. The misunderstanding between Sweden and Russia seemed to have arrived at its utmost height, when a French emigrant, named Christin, appeared at Stockholm. He had arrived from England at Gottenburgh, and gave out that he was charged with a mission from the Count d'Artois to the Empress of Russia. But this was only the better to conceal the object of his journey, as he had secret orders to prevail on the regent to come to an accommodation with the Empress. This negotiation succeeded; and shortly after General Budberg, uncle of the young *chargé-d'affaires*, arrived in Sweden with the title of ambassador of the Empress. General Budberg made known to the regent the intentions of his sovereign. She demanded that this Prince and the Baron de Reusterholm should prepare the young King to repudiate the Princess of Mecklenburgh, to marry one of the grand-daughters of the Empress, and that, besides, he should engage not to insist on his consort's being subjected to the law which prescribes to the Queens of Sweden to adopt the religion of the country: she wished, that afterwards the regent and Reuterholm should accompany Gustavus-Adolphus to Peterburgh.

Catharine spoke: she was obeyed. The regent, his pupil, his minister, and a great number of courtiers, repaired to Peterburgh. The pride of the Empress was gratified: she now displayed her magnificence only.

The young King appeared to be extremely affected by the good will which the Empress manifested towards him; but he was still more so with the charms of the Grand-dutchess Alexandra: the sight of her easily obliterated from his mind the Princess of Mecklenburgh. Proposals of marriage were very speedily

made, and the day of contract was fixed, which was to have been followed by a splendid entertainment. When the instrument was presented to the King, that he might put his signature to it, he observed, to the great astonishment of the Imperial family, that the fundamental laws of Sweden obliged him to demand that the Princess should change her religion, and that without this condition he could not sign the contract.

The Empress at first employed solicitations and flattery to persuade the young monarch to overlook that clause: but, perceiving that he could not be prevailed on to alter his resolution, she arose coldly and went out: the Grand-duke, the Grand-duchess and their children followed her. The banquet did not take place; and the next day Gustavus-Adolphus and his retinue quitted Petersburg.

Catharine had conquered by her arms and by her intrigues nearly the half of Poland, the Crimea, the Kuban, and a part of the frontiers of Turkey; but she had no occasion to have recourse to combats in order to invade another country, rich and well peopled: intrigue was sufficient. This country was Courland, over which still reigned the feeble son of the sanguinary Biren.

In order to comprehend all the advantage of this acquisition, it is necessary to give an idea of the geography of Courland, of its productions, and of its inhabitants.

Courland, situated between the 56th and 58th degree of northern latitude, is divided into three parts, Courland Proper, Semigallia and the circle of Pilton. It is bounded by Livonia, Lithuania, Samogitia and the Baltic Sea. The Dwina separates it from Livonia on the north, and waters its frontiers through a space of more than sixty leagues. The south of Courland is contiguous to Lithuania and Samogitia, from Warnowitz up to the river Heiligenatz, which empties itself into the Baltic.

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The portion of Samogitia which separates Courland from Prussia is no more than four or five leagues in breadth, and it is there that are to be found the only coasts which Poland has upon the Baltic.

Courland, more favoured as to the means of navigation, has, upon this sea, more than a hundred leagues of coast, which present several creeks, several bays, and the excellent ports of Liébau and of Windau. This last, which never is shut up by the ice, will, without doubt, one day become the station of the Russian fleets. It may be easily put in a state to contain a hundred ships of the line, which can at any period menace Sweden and Denmark.

Courland is watered by the Dwina, the Windau, the Aau, the Ekran and the Suffeg, and it would be easy to establish there an interior navigation. The Windau and the Aau might, in a particular manner, facilitate the commerce of the Baltic with Lithuania and Samogitia, from whence these rivers take their source.

There are also in Courland lakes and marshes. The principal lakes are those of Saueken and, of Angern, of Reffinaiten, of Liébau and of Popenfee. The cantons which supply the greatest quantity of wood are Dohndangen, Popen, Schleck, Rutzau. The districts of Mertzendorff, of Bengallen, of Ambothen, present only a mountainous aspect.

The climate of Courland is good, but severe. It has rapid transitions from cold to heat and from heat to cold, and there are very frequent fogs. Notwithstanding this, the inhabitants of it are robust and long-lived.

The soil of this country is in general fertile. It produces in abundance wood, corn, fruits, and various other vegetables. There are, it is true, some cantons lying fallow, but that is from want of labourers and animals.

The forests there are filled with game, and the rivers with fish. The soil is calcareous, but covered

in divers places with sand, turf, and potters' clay. There are quarries of marble, and mines of iron and coal, but they are not worked. You likewise find there vitriol and lead ore. The commodities which Courland supplies to commerce, are wheat, barley, oats, timber for building, hemp, flax, potashes, leather, furs, feathers, salted and smoked provisions, wax, rosin, tallow, amber, beer and brandy distilled from grain.

There are no manufactures in Courland: of consequence several articles of luxury, even several of the most necessary things are imported from foreign countries, and procure immense profits to the Dutch, the Danes, the English, which they barter for the commodities of the country.

The great number of little ports which Courland has upon the Baltic are extremely favourable to smuggling.

Before I mention the state of the inhabitants and of the government of Courland, at the moment when Catharine II. took possession of this country, I shall relate succinctly what they have been.

It is nearly 2200 years since some southern navigators discovered in that quarter of the north, of which I speak, some savage people who carried on the commerce and fishing for amber. Herodotus gives them the name of Venedes; other writers of antiquity call them Guttons, Suevi, Æstians, Heruli, and from one of these hordes the Baltic was named, seventeen centuries back, the sea of the Suevi. The Guttons drove the Suevi into the interior of the country, and remained masters of the sea-coast. Audacious pirates, they came, towards the close of the sixth century, to ravage the coasts of France.

There were at that time kings of Courland; and there exists still among the Courlandish peasantry, a family said to be descended from their ancient kings, and who still preserve some privileges.

The Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, by turns subjugated

subjugated the Courlanders, and were sometimes vanquished by them. Till the end of the twelfth century, the Courlanders had refused to receive Christianity, and had frequently even massacred those who attempted to preach it to them; but a grand crusade, levied against them by Pope Innocent III. obliged them to become converts.

The order of *chevaliers porte-glaive* took possession of Courland, erected into a dutchy, and considered it as an oblat-fief, the sovereignty of which was vested in the Kings of Poland. The Grand-master, Conrade de Medem, built the city of Mittau, which is the capital of the country. Long after this, Sigismund-Augustus, the King of Poland, united Courland to his states; and finally, the Grand-master Gothard Kettler was Duke of it in 1561, but the King of Poland did not grant him investiture till eighteen years afterwards.

The descendants of Gothard Kettler almost always retained the dutchy of Courland down to the year 1737. One of them, James III. who lived in the middle of the seventeenth century, acquired in Europe consideration and glory. He concluded advantageous treaties with England and France. He had his marine and finances in excellent order; and his subjects went to traffic freely on the coast of Senegal, in the river Gambia, to the Antilles, and in the ports of Iceland.

Ferdinand, the last shoot of the race of Kettler, lost his dutchy, for having commanded the Saxon army against the Czar Peter I. For thirty years he saw his oppressed and faithful states recal him several times, and never durst resume the government. At length, on the death of that Prince, the Empress Anne obliged the Courlanders to elect as Duke, her too unworthy favourite Biren.

Biren, at that time all-powerful in the court of Petersburgh, and afterwards banished for twenty years to the deserts of Siberia, did not go to take possession of

his dutchy till his return from exile. Six years afterwards he resigned the reins of government to his son, Peter, already elected Duke through the influence of Russia.

The Courlanders had wretched manners, and still worse laws. The nobles, generally addicted to an excessive debauchery, enjoyed privileges far too high, and the inhabitants of the cities, as well as the peasantry, were shamefully degraded. These last, naturally good, but dull and superstitious in the extreme, believe still in magic. There are even some of them idolaters, and who, in the recesses of their forests, sacrifice animals. Their education is not greatly calculated to amend them. There is in Courland no other institution for public instruction except the miserable college of Mittau. Lutheranism is the established religion of that country; but all sects are tolerated.

Though Sovereigns of Courland, the Dukes have been, down to a recent date, absolutely subjected to Poland. Orders issuing from the republic and King of Poland, and sealed with the great seal of Lithuania, alone had the force of law in Courland. The Dukes could keep up no more than a body of 500 infantry and 200 cavalry. They had a mint, but the coin was impressed with the effigy and the arms of the King of Poland; and the nobility, as well as the burghers of Courland, took the oath of fidelity to the Polish monarch.

The rights and usages of the Courlandish nobles were nearly similar to those of the Polish nobility. They had their diets, their dietines, their privy and arbitrary tribunals. They were liable to no impost, to no excise, and paid to the support of government just what they thought proper. They were opulent, because they were proprietors of all the lands.

Duke Peter de Biren was avaricious, litigious, and unworthy of respect. His blind attachment to his favourite Wagener, contributed not a little to render him

him an object of hatred : but there were still farther grounds of complaint against him. Obligated to farm out his lands to the nobles at a moderate rent, he had raised that rent, and made agricultural regulations, oppressive to the husbandman. During an excursion he made into Italy, the regency replaced every thing on the ancient footing : but when he returned, the Duke restored his innovations, and created a greater number of enemies. He seemed, by his imprudent conduct, determined himself to drive his subjects to meet the Russian yoke.

The emissaries of Russia had long ago succeeded in gaining over many Courlanders, and particularly the counsellor Howen, a man eloquent, pliable and ambitious. The Courlandish nobility were frequently allured to Peterburgh. The flattering reception given them by the Empress, distinctions, pleasures, rendered a residence in Russia far preferable, in their estimation, to a home at Mittau, and inspired a wish rather to obey the Sovereign of a vast empire, than be subject to a miserly Duke, whose obscure origin they incessantly recollected, and whom they considered as their inferior.

In order to induce the commonalty to adopt this sentiment of the nobles, Catharine set them a wrangling, and excited a spirit of alarm. She at first made the inhabitants of Livonia to revive an ancient convention, which obliged the Courlanders to export all their commodities from the port of Riga. It was undoubtedly very strange, that a nation which had on its own coasts ports commodiously situated, should be obliged to go, at a great expense, and put on board in a foreign city the productions of its own soil ! But what cannot force effect, and what will not ambition dare to do ? The quarrel of the Livonians and Courlanders was not yet settled, when the Empress sent engineers into Courland to trace the plan of a canal which should facilitate the conveyance of goods from
that

that country into Livonia. The Courlanders on this, apprehending that they would soon be under the necessity of using this canal, thought it would be better, for them, to be protected than oppressed by the Empress, and to become her subjects rather than her neighbours.

Informed of these dispositions, and of all the discontents which the Duke of Courland excited, Catharine summoned that Prince to her court, under the pretext of having occasion to confer with him on business of serious importance, but scarcely was the Duke at the foot of the throne of the self-created despot of the north, when the states of Courland assembled. The nobility proposed to renounce the sovereignty of Poland, and submit to that of Russia. The chief members of the grand council wished to oppose this transfer, observing, that it would be decent, before they proceeded to a decision, to wait the Duke's return. The oberbourgrave Howén rose, and made a long speech in favour of Russia. Some of the counsellors adopted his opinion, others upbraided him as a traitor. The dispute grew warm; mutual challenges were given, and they were on the point of settling the controversy by the sword, when the Russian general Pahlen made his appearance in the assembly. His presence restored tranquillity. No one dared to open his mouth against Russia, and the proposition of the nobles passed into a resolution.

The day after, an instrument was drawn up, by which Courland, Semigallia, and the circle of Pilten, subjected themselves to the Empress of Russia, and it was carried to Petersburg, where the Duke of Courland learnt from the mouth of his own subjects, that they had just stripped him of his principality. The Empress immediately sent a governor thither.

There were nevertheless many malecontents in Courland. Discontent involved proscription, and the effects of the proscribed became a prey to Catharine's courtiers.

courtiers. The favourite Plato Zouboff and his brother Valerian obtained a great part of those rich and scandalous spoils.

The unresisted sovereign of so many invaded states, Catharine employed unremitting assiduity to retain them under her domination. Repnin and Toutoulmin exacted, in her name, a new oath of allegiance, the one in Lithuania, the other in Poland, and the wretched inhabitants of those countries who dared to refuse submission to that cruel formality, were instantly stripped of the inheritance of their fathers, and driven from their natal soil.

The Empress, who had so long promised, without any intention to keep faith, support to the league of Kings against France, gave way, at last, to the solicitations of the favourite Zouboff, whom his sister, the British minister and Esterhazy incessantly beset. She determined to join the English fleet with a squadron of twelve ships and eight frigates, the command of which was conferred on Admiral Hanikoff. But, never forming a treaty but what redounded to her own benefit, she had stipulated that Great Britain should pay her an annual subsidy of a million sterling, beside defraying all the expense of the squadron, which received, notwithstanding, secret orders not to fight. The court of London obtained, then, by this bargain, only a useless and ruinous bugbear. It was soon perceived: but the Russian squadron was kept in British pay for a year, and the Empress was requested to recal her armament to her own ports. Catharine afterwards sent to England three ships of war and three frigates.

That Princess had married her grandson Alexander to the Princess Louisa of Baden. She likewise wished to find a consort for Prince Constantine. She invited to her court the three daughters of the Prince de Saxe-Cobourg, and, after some hesitation in her choice, determined in favour of the youngest, who, on becoming

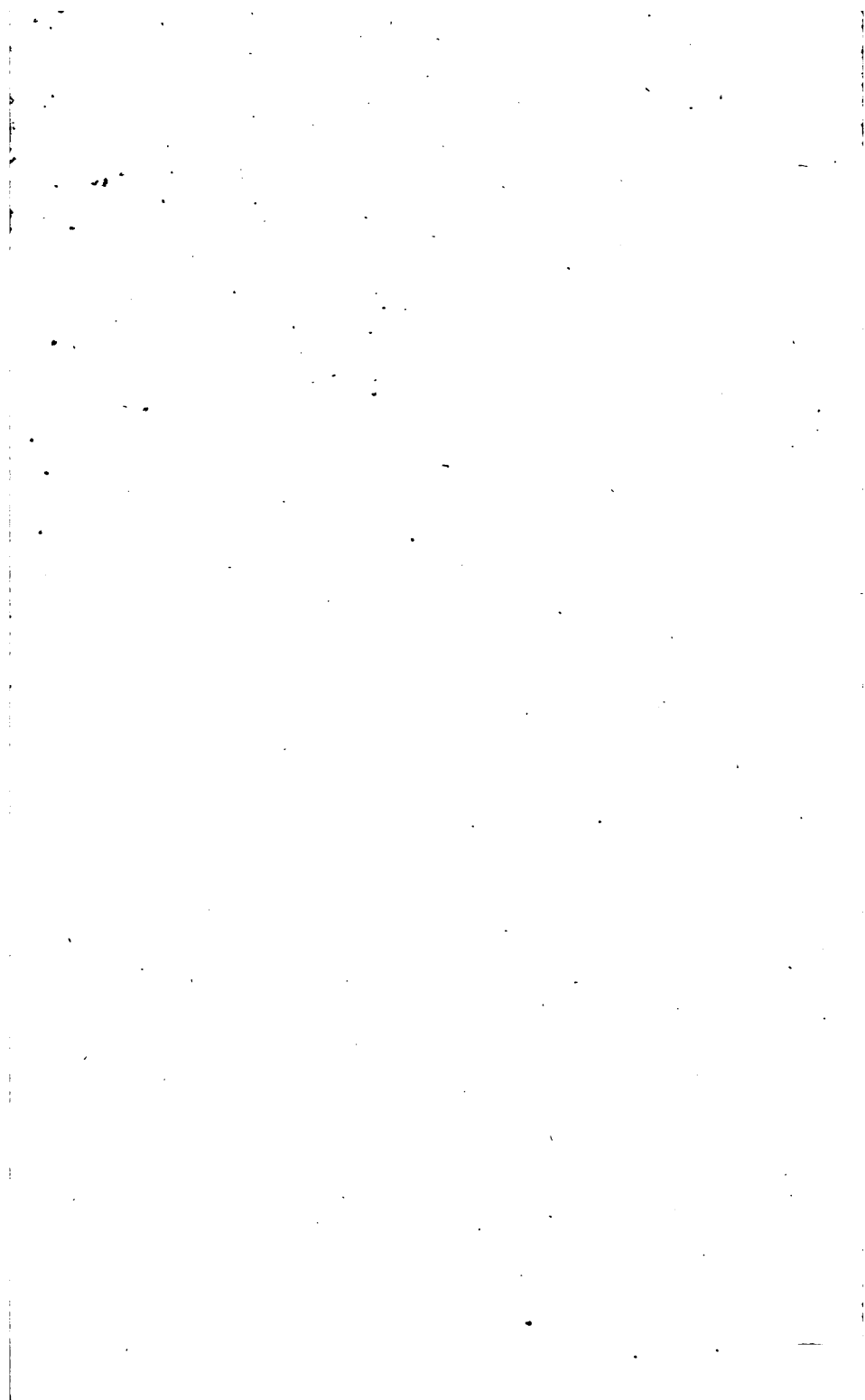
ing Grand-dutchess, assumed the name of Anna-Federowna.

But unresisted invasion, treaties, alliances, satisfied not the ambition of Catharine. Impelled by the rage of conquest, she turned her arms against Persia. Under pretence of supporting Lolf-Ali-Khan, a shoot from the race of the Sophis, she intended to avenge herself on the eunuch Aga-Mahmed, and make herself mistress of the Persian provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea. Her minister at Constantinople had orders to press the Porte to enter into her views. The Reis-effendi Rasched Mahomet powerfully supported her; but the divan remained inflexible.

Valerian Zouboff penetrated, at the head of a numerous army, into the province of Daghestan, and proceeded to lay siege to Derbent. He first attacked a lofty tower which covered that place, and after having carried it, and put the garrison to the sword, prepared to give the assault to the city. The Persians, intimidated by the first success, and by the fury of the Russians, begged quarter, and the commandant, a venerable old man, of 120 years, and the same person who, at the beginning of this century, had surrendered Derbent to Peter I. carried the keys of it to Valerian Zouboff.

Aga-Mahmed hastened to relieve Derbent, but was informed by the way that this place had already submitted to the Russian arms. Valerian Zouboff advanced to give him battle, and victory declared in favour of the Persians, who obliged their enemies to retreat into Derbent. Catharine, informed of this defeat, immediately issued orders to a part of the troops which she had in the Kuban, to go and reinforce the army of Valerian Zouboff, and she entertained no doubt that this general would soon triumph over Aga-Mahmed.

She flattered herself with the hope of obtaining a still greater triumph. The new treaty she was on the point





PAUL I PETROWITZ,

Emperor of Russia.

Published Feb^r 19th 1800, by L. Stockdale, Finsbury.

point of concluding with England and Austria, obliged her, in truth, to furnish these two powers with a formidable army against France, but it ensured to her their aid for attacking Turkey. She reckoned, in a word, on the execution of her darling project, that of driving the Ottomans out of Europe, and of rearing her throne at Constantinople.

In this case the vast empire of Catharine would have had for boundaries, the Thracian Bosphorus to the south, the Gulph of Bothnia on the north, the Vistula on the west, and the seas of Japan eastward.

But death blasted her hopes. On the morning of November 6th she was tolerably gay, and drank coffee as usual. Some time after she retired to her closet. After an interval of half an hour, her female attendants, finding she did not re-appear, began to be uneasy. They went in, and found the Empress stretched on the floor, with her feet against the door. Dr. Rogerson, her first physician, was called in, who, supposing it to be a fit of the apoplexy, ordered her to be bled twice. The Empress appeared at first to be somewhat relieved; but it was impossible for him to give a decided opinion, and at ten in the evening she expired.

The Grand-duke was at his country residence of Gatschina. As soon as he was informed of his mother's dangerous state he hastened to Petersburg, and the instant she breathed her last, was proclaimed Emperor, by the name of Paul I.

When he had assumed the reins of government, that Prince failed not to render to his mother all the funeral honours due to her; but he did not choose that she should be the sole object of this august and mournful ceremony. Whether from an excess of filial piety, or to evince the rooted abhorrence he felt of the crime which robbed him of a father, he brought that crime to remembrance, in a terrible and solemn manner. The last scene of the bloody tragedy
of

of 1762, was exhibited at the expiration of thirty-five years.

Paul I. gave orders to open the tomb of the unfortunate Peter III. which was in the church of St. Alexander Newsky. He commanded to place on the coffin of that Prince the Imperial crown, which he had brought expressly for the purpose from Moscow. The coffin was then deposited on a bed of state by the side of that of the Empress, with a love-knot extending from the one to the other, and an inscription in the Russian tongue to this purport :—" In life divided, in death united." Alexis Orloff was ordered to Petersburg, and appointed, together with Prince Baratsinsky, to appear in mourning on each side of the coffin of Peter III. This dismal preference was unquestionably intended to awaken remorse and terror in the breasts of the two assassins. For three hours that the ceremony of interment lasted, the eyes of all the spectators were fixed on them, and seemed to upbraid them with the enormity of their offence. Alexis Orloff, possessing more animal vigour and insensibility than Baratsinsky, discovered no sensible emotion ; but his accomplice had the appearance of being filled with a profound sorrow, and would probably have fallen into fainting-fits, but for the salts incessantly administered to him.

All Petersburg expected that this first punishment would have been succeeded by one of greater severity, but the vengeance of the Emperor went no farther. Alexis Orloff received, without having requested it, permission to travel, and Baratsinsky was ordered no more to make his appearance at court, a disgrace which he could not but consider as a favour.

I will not attempt to depict, by new traits, the character of Catharine II. The history which I have just written will be sufficient, I dare venture to believe, to make her known. I shall only say a few words with regard to her person, of which I have as yet scarcely made mention.

That

That Princess had been pretty in her youth, and she preserved, to the latest period of her life, much grace and majesty. She was of a middling stature, but well proportioned, and as she carried her head very erect, she appeared almost tall. Her forehead was open, her nose a little aquiline, her mouth agreeable, and her chin rather long, but not at all misshapen. Her hair was chestnut-brown, her eye-brows black and thick. Her blue eyes had a sweetness frequently affected, and, more frequently still, replaced by haughtiness. Her phyisionomy was not deficient in expression, but that expression displayed but little what was passing in the soul of Catharine, or rather she made use of it only the better to disguise her inward feelings.

Catharine was usually dressed in the Russian manner. She wore a green robe, sufficiently short, which formed in front a species of waistcoat, and the strait sleeves of which descended to the wrist. Her hair, lightly powdered, floated over her shoulders, and was surmounted by a small cap covered with diamonds. In the last years of her life she put on a great deal of rouge, for she still had pretensions not to allow the traces of time to appear on her countenance, and it is probable that these pretensions only were the cause of her living in the utmost temperance.

On days of ceremony, that Princess assembled on her person, and in her court, all that European elegance could add to the lustre of Asiatic pomp. On these occasions, her hair and her robe were covered with jewels, and her head was decorated with a crown of diamonds of inestimable value. She wore the crosses of Saint Alexander Newsky, of Saint Wolodomir, and Saint Catharine; on one side she had the ribbon of Saint Andrew, and on the other that of Saint George, with the brilliant plates of these two orders, which are the first of the empire.

The courtiers of both sexes strained in emulation with each other to imitate the magnificence of the Sovereign, a magnificence which, notwithstanding
it's

it's excess, was without doubt less difficult to equal, than the anxiety which she expressed to assure her glory. Dressed in the most beautiful stuffs, and in the French style, they displayed a prodigious quantity of diamonds and other precious stones. The buttons, the buckles, the sword-hilts, the watch-chains, the epaulettes, the plates and the crosses of the different orders of chivalry which the men wore, were of brilliants, as well as the ear-rings, the necklaces, the aigrettes, and several other ornaments of the women. This luxury rendered the court of Russia the most brilliant court of Europe: but those who were the spectators of it could not help reflecting that such immense riches were lost to circulation, and that the pride of a few grandes consumed incessantly, and to no purpose, the fruit of the labour and the industry of the wretched serfs.

I promised to exhibit a statement of what the favourites of Catharine received from that Princess. Here it is, such as I received it from persons very well informed on the subject.

The five brothers ORLOFF received 45,000	<i>Roubles.</i>
peasants, and in lands, palaces, jewels,	
plate and ready money -	17,000,000
WISSOTSKY, an officer of the guards, in	
favour about two months -	300,000
WASSILTCHIKOFF, a simple lieutenant of	
the guards received, the twenty months	
he was in favour, an estate in land, with	
7,000 peasants; valued at	600,000
In ready money -	100,000
In jewels -	60,000
In plate -	50,000
A palace furnished -	100,000
A pension of 20,000 roubles,	
worth about -	200,000
	<hr/>
	1,110,000
beside the order of Saint-Alexander	
Newsky.	<hr/>

Carried forward, 18,410,000

1796.]

EMPERESS OF RUSSIA.

577

Roubles.

Brought forward, 18,410,000

POTEMKIN received the two first years, about nine millions. He afterwards accumulated vast wealth. He had great estates in Poland, and in all the provinces of Russia. One of his chests was filled with gold, diamonds, and bank-bills on London, Amsterdam, Venice. His fortune was valued at 50,000,000

ZAWADOFFSKY received, in eighteen months, lands in Poland, with 2000 peasants, in the Ukraine with 6000, and in Russia with 1800 : the whole valued at - - 1,000,000

He received in money - - 150,000

In plate - - 50,000

In jewels - - 80,000

And a pension from the privy purse of 10,000 roubles, worth - - 100,000

1,380,000

besides the ribbon of the White Eagle of Poland.

ZORITZ received, in one year, the ribbon of the Swedish order of the Sword, and that of the White-Eagle of Poland. An estate in Poland of 500,000

One in Lithuania of 50 haaks, worth - - 100,000

In money - - 500,000

In jewels - - 200,000

1,420,000

KORZAKOFF received, in sixteen months, the ribbon of the White Eagle of Poland, and the palace of Waffiltshikoff which had been repurchased 100,000

100,000

O o Carried forward, 71,310,000

Roubles.

Brought forward,		71,310,000
An estate with 4000 peasants	400,000	
In money and jewels	- 150,000	
To pay his debts	- 100,000	
To equip him for travelling	100,000	
Gratuity on his travels	- 70,000	
		<hr/> 820,000

LANSKOÏ received in money or		
lands	- 7,000,000	
In diamonds	- 80,000	
To pay his debts	- 80,000	
A palace, valued at	- 100,000	
		<hr/> 7,260,000

Beside, his sister and cousin were admitted into the number of maids of honour to the Empress, and received many presents, of which no valuation can be made.

YERMOLOFF received, in sixteen months, the ribbon of the White Eagle of Poland, and an estate valued at		100,000
Another, with 3000 peasants	300,000	
In money	- 150,000	
		<hr/> 550,000

MOMONOFF received, in twenty-six months, in land		600,000
In money	- 200,000	
In jewels	- 80,000	
		<hr/> 880,000

PLATO ZOUBOFF was decorated with the title of Prince and with several ribbons, and appointed grand-master of artillery. He received immense estates in Russia, in Poland and in Courland. His fortune, exclusive of moveables and jewels, amounted to an annual re-

Carried forward,	<hr/> 80,820,000
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	<i>Roubles.</i>
Brought forward,	80,820,000
venue of about 100,000 roubles, and is consequently estimated at	2,500,000
Furniture and jewels	200,000
	<hr/> 2,700,000
VALERIAN ZOUBOFF received a great deal of money, lands in Poland and Courland, and a pension of 12,000 roubles, payable in gold. The whole may be estimated at	800,000
	<hr/> 84,320,000
To these presents must be added the expense of the favourite, calculated at 250,000 roubles a year, which amounts, during the 34 years that Catharine's reign lasted, to	8,500,000
	<hr/> Total, 92,820,000

This sum is equal to about 464,100,000 livres Tournois, (upwards of 19,330,000*l.* sterling). Hence it appears how magnificently Catharine rewarded the attachment of her lovers. She was equally generous to her ministers, her generals, and every one about her person: and in excuse for a profusion which sometimes had the appearance of bearing an extravagant proportion to the state other finances, she used to say, ("My pretended prodigality is real economy. All this remains in the country, and returns to me one day.")

THE END.



